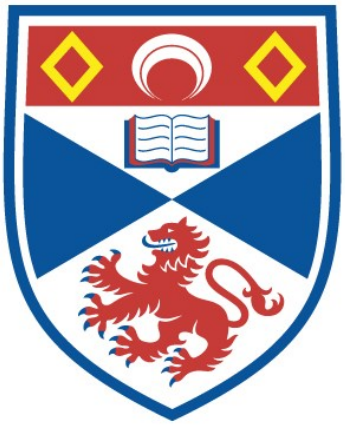
THE SOUND OF COLOUR : THE INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF DOMENICHINO'S APPROACH TO MUSIC AND PAINTING

Rowland Charles MacKenzie

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1998

Rowland Charles MacKenzie

The Sound of Colour: The Intellectual Foundations of Domenichino's Approach to Music and Painting.

Part One

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I was admitted as a part time/full time research student for the degree of M. Phil. on Domenichino in October 1992, the higher study of which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1992 and 1997.

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Abstract

The debate about the nature of the theoretical basis of the training under the Carracci can be expanded by an analysis of the paintings of Domenichino, who, as the heir to Annibale, might be expected to reveal something of his master's teaching. Domenichino is unusual by the manner in which his painting is grounded in colour harmonies which match those of sound, and in the fact that this modulation is supported by the theoretical principles which he later developed in the company of Matteo Zaccolini in Rome. This thesis will explore the theoretical basis of Domenichino's colour and his music, something which he learnt in the Carracci workshop and developed in the practice of the new manner of painting effected by the Carracci in Bologna. His interest in music was encouraged in Rome by his friendship with Giovanni Battista Agucchi. The commission for the paintings in Sant' Andrea della Valle gave Domenichino the opportunity to demonstrate the relationship between music and painting because the four pendentives of the crossing were designed as an extension of the *apparati* constructed for the Devotion of the Forty Hours.

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2 Leonardo da Vinci, Studies for Leda, ca. 1506, Windsor Castle (inventory no. 12, 516), pen and ink on paper.

3 Matteo Zaccolini, *De colori*, folio no. 78, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 1.

4 Matteo Zaccolini, *Prospettiva del colore*, folio no. 41 recto, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 2.

5 Matteo Zaccolini, *Prospettiva del colore*, folio no. 48 recto and verso, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 2.

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7 Giulio Caccini (after Giovanni Battista Guarini), *Le Nuove Musiche*, 1602, Florence, p. 7.

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1 Raspantino, Inventory of Possessions, Archivo di Stato, Rome, A. C. Notiao, Olimpiade Petrucci, Ufficio, 6, 1664, 2a parte, vol. 5943, folios nos. 61 recto, 61 verso, 62 recto, 62 verso, 4th April 1664, pp. 340-342.

2 Matteo Zaccolini, *De colori*, folios nos. 1 verso, 2 recto, table of contents, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 1, pp. 343-344.

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Introduction

. . .the beautiful is what is pleasant through hearing and sight. . .
Plato, Hippias Major.

The aim of this introduction is to establish the present state of research concerning the Carracci and Domenichino. I will introduce a number of key texts which deal with the beginnings of the Carracci's *Accademia*, the "reformation of painting" and with what Domenichino assimilated from Annibale Carracci, issues which are central to this thesis.

Domenico Zampieri, Il Domenichino's accomplishments were all encompassing: artist, architect and theoretical musician. The basis for his understanding of the relationship between these subjects was established within the framework of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* taught at the *Scuola di Grammatica* and later at the Carracci *Accademia*. The aim of this thesis is twofold: firstly, to explore the nature of the debate concerning the theoretical and practical basis of the Carracci training in their *Accademia*. In particular, I have focused on Domenichino, who as the heir to Annibale Carracci, takes on the concerns of the Carracci and develops his own distinctive style and colourism, which is grounded in an understanding of colour harmonies, which match those of sound. Secondly, it is my aim to prove that there is a correlation between colour and music theory and practice which is manifest in the paintings of Domenichino, in terms of different modal systems.

In 1947 Denis Mahon published his Studies in Seicento Art and Theory. Mahon's book was one of the first publications to re-evaluate the Carracci and their pupils. As Charles Dempsey states in Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style:

> Denis Mahon's Studies in Seicento Art and Theory was one of those rare books which transformed the understanding and appreciation of its subject. . .It is not doing his predecessors in the study of Bolognese painting any injustice to say he accomplished what none had been able to do before, a revolution in taste. . .[1]

In 1956 the first major exhibition on the Carracci was held in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna.[2] Two years later a third exhibition was held in Bologna, this time including a number of the Carracci's contemporaries and their students entitled "Seventeenth Century Emilian Painting in Bologna."[3] In October 1996 the first major exhibition of Domenichino's works was shown in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome.[4] The exhibition revealed the extent to which Domenichino had been greatly overshadowed and neglected in favour of his masters and contemporaries by art historians in general. It was the hope of the organisers, Denis Mahon and Richard Spear, that the exhibition would re-address the situation and bring Domenichino to the public's notice.

During the 1960s and 70s, the issue of Seicento painting and theory came under fresh scrutiny. The ensuing polemical debate was fuelled by Donald Posner, A. W. A. Boschloo and Charles Dempsey. The debate focused on "the central intellectual issue which faced all artists of his [Annibale's] time, the bringing together of Theory and Practice, both in the painting of his [Annibale's] own pictures and the training of young artists."[5] In the preface to his book, Annibale Carracci Posner pointed to the fact that little had been written about Annibale's "reformation of painting." The premise of his argument rested on Bellori and Malvasia, Annibale's principle biographers. Posner pointed out that, although both biographers published their respective treatises more than half a century after the death of Annibale, both Bellori and Malvasia were thorough in their research. However, Posner questioned Malvasia's text by saying that it was "marred by an almost obsessive local patriotism and, therefore, by an uncritical championship of Annibale's Bolognese, as opposed to his Roman, period, and of Ludovico Carracci over Annibale, who [had], in Malvasia's view, 'deserted' Bologna."[6] For Posner, Malvasia was not above tampering with letters and documents to construct his own arguments in favour of Ludovico. Bellori on the other hand was hailed by Posner as "an author of great intelligence and sensitivity," even though he gave a disproportionate emphasis to Annibale's Roman and 'idealist' art.[7] Posner then went on

to deal with the problems of attribution, chronology and iconography, as well as "the nature and genesis of historic achievement." Within this context he discussed the creative processes and forces which came into play concerning the theoretical and practical aspects of artistic production.

> Cultural analogies, to the literature, science, philosophy, or theology of an age, can be highly suggestive, but they are not always relevant to understanding the genesis or essential meaning of a work of art. This seems particularly true for Annibale who had not the intellectual or spiritual resources that enabled artists like Michelangelo, Poussin and Carravaggio to respond directly and profoundly to general cultural trends of their times. One has the impression, in fact that Annibale's life and thought were dominated by relatively narrow professional concerns. He seems to have been motivated mainly by a quite uncomplicated desire for success and by a passionate, but almost craftsman-like urge to perfect his art.[8]

Posner's remarks imply that Annibale's art was based on a desire to perfect his style of painting, through the observation of past masters, antique sculpture and nature. The inference that Annibale desired only to "perfect his art" seems to suggest that he showed little or no interest in the wider socio-cultural and political issues of his day. Posner denies the fact that Annibale was capable of discussing theoretical matters on art. However, before his illness in 1605, Annibale was known to have assisted Giovanni Battista Agucchi with his treatise, of which only a fragment now survives.[9] This evidence goes some way to cast doubt on Posner's position. Domenichino too, assisted Agucchi with writing the *Trattato*, which became a spring board for Giovanni Pietro Bellori's *Le Vita de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, first published in Rome in 1672. Again, Posner also underplays the role of Ludovico and Agostino Carracci and their contribution to the reformation. Dempsey however questions Posner's view-point:

> If all that was necessary to the reform of painting was the appearance of a professional painter

> unencumbered by abstract ideas and beliefs but a spontaneous appreciation of Barocci, well, painting cannot have been in such a bad state after all and Annibale's achievement is less than his contemporaries thought.[10]

This position is strengthened by new evidence which has come to light during the last few years.

Posner's argument intended to undermine the validity of Carlo Cesare Malvasia's, *Felsina pittrice Vite dei pittori Bolognesi*, by claiming that the inclusion of a fragmentary letter purportedly written in Parma by Annibale to Ludovico in 1580 was fabricated.[11] In 1986 Mahon published a reply in the Burlington Magazine, "Malvasia as Source for Sources."[12] In this article Mahon questioned Malvasia's editorial skills and his possible manipulation of source material. In particular he cited a letter by Annibale to Ludovico which discussed Annibale's surprise concerning the price, requested by Guido Reni, for the commission of St. Andrew Being Led to Martyrdom in the Oratory of St. Andrew next to San Gregorio Magno. A year later Charles Dempsey and Elizabeth Cropper discussed this article in their paper on "The State of Research in Italian Painting of the Seventeenth Century" in the Art Bulletin.[13] In the June 1989 edition of the Art Bulletin, Stephen Pepper replied to Dempsey and Cropper's essay.[14] The ensuing debate in the Art Bulletin between Posner, Pepper, Dempsey and Cropper is of fundamental importance for the validity of Malvasia's source material and the question of his manipulation of the letters for editorial purposes. Dempsey and Cropper take the view that:

> . . .Malvasia copied it out in his notes after an original by Annibale and then excerpted it for publication in the *Felsina pittrice* not in order to put forward any arguments of an "art-critical" nature, but in order to support his statement that Annibale was shocked by the high price that Guido demanded for his work at S. Gregorio Magno. . .Nor however, can it be said that proof has at last been produced that Malvasia tampered with or (partially) falsified documents.[15]

Although Dempsey and Cropper focused on one particular aspect of the debate in their reply to Pepper, the fundamental issue is whether Malvasia's source's can, as a whole, be used as valuable and corroborative evidence. The continuing debate must be seen in the light of the recent rediscovery three years ago of one of the first known and documented painting by Annibale, his copy of Titian's Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr ca. 1580-81 (private collection, London). Posner analysed the early paintings, in particular The Crucifixion (Santa Maria della Carità, Bologna) painted in 1582-3 by Annibale, and rejected the possibility of Annibale having fully assimilated a knowledge of Venetian colourism by this date. In particular, he dismissed the inclusion of two letters purported to have been written by Annibale to Ludovico from Parma in April 1580, and Agostino's letter written to Ludovico, from Venice in the June of that year. Posner believed that Agostino made his first visit to Venice in 1582 and that Annibale had probably visited the city around 1588.[16] New evidence has come to light concerning two copies made by Annibale after figures from Correggio's cupola in the Duomo in Parma. This is supported by the recently discovered Farnese inventories of 1587 and 1595, which support the provenance of the two paintings that now hang in the Capodimonte in Naples. Annibale's copy of The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr and his figures after Correggio need to be re-evaluated and placed in a new context concerning his early career, which can be substantiated by a closer analysis of Malvasia's *Felsina pittrice*. These paintings prove that Annibale had already gained a grounding in Lombardian and Venetian colourism before his first major commission The Crucifixion.

Mahon's Studies in Seicento Art and Theory raised questions, regarding the role played by rhetoric in painting. Contemporary critics, David Summers[17] and Jaqueline Lichtenstein[18] have both written extensively on the subject of how painting functions within the bounds of rhetoric. In particular they both focused on the issue of nature and beauty in painting. The importance of rhetoric is fundamental to understanding the notions of the *idea del bello*, established by Bellori in his *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et*

architetti moderni of 1672. More significant for the purposes of my argument than Bellori's notable literary personality is the fact that he was a student of Domenichino. His position in Rome, where his links with the scholar Francesco Angeloni who worked for the Aldobrandini family, afforded him access to many of the great names of the Roman artistic world.[19] It is more than likely to suggest that it was through Angeloni and Domenichino, that Bellori was introduced to Giovanni Battista Agucchi's fragmentary treatise on painting, from which he derived many of his concepts on art. Bellori's theoretical foundations were based upon his own particular liking for what he defined as the "classical" style of painting, as exemplified by Annibale Carracci and Domenichino. Like Raphael and the sculptors of antiquity, whom Bellori much admired, he saw that these artists had strived to construct an identical and true ideal of beauty.[20] Much of Bellori's inspiration was drawn from Agucchi's treatise, in particular the concerns about constructing the ideal beauty in painting. The traditions of the *Idea* are crucial to the whole discourse of the Carracci reformation. In 1924 Erwin Panofsky published *"Idea": a Concept in Art Theory*, which plotted the development of ideal beauty. Panofsky included Bellori's introduction to *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* intimating that Bellori's introduction was one of the seminal texts on the *idea del bello* in the 17th century. Summers acknowledges the debt that Erwin Panofsky made concerning the *Idea* in *"Idea": a Concept in Art Theory*. He writes:

> His *Idea*, its reading shaped by the assumption that there was a single "Renaissance mind", has helped to establish Neoplatonism as the philosophical language of Renaissance art, in the terms of which it is properly apprehended critically, and in terms of which its essential intentions must be supposed to have been set.[21]

Thus Panofsky helped establish the basis of a new historiographical interpretation of the *idea del bello* which is now part of our general reading. Summers and Lichtenstein have further developed Panofsky's views by reinterpreting the issues. In Lichtenstein's case, she has analysed the rhetorical debate (beginning with Plato, through to the French

Academy in the 18th century) concerning colour theory and practices, in terms of its function and use in painting. In the preface to her book, The Eloquence of Color she says:

> Painting has always held a strange appeal for philosophers, such that the battle between attraction and rejection, between fascination and censure, has never ceased. This mixture of forms in which the subtlest contour joins the richest colors to produce the enigmatic unity of representation, inevitably disturbs the harmony of thought based on principles of pure reason.[22]

Summers has developed Panofsky's concerns of how and why artists evolved a theory of the ideal and beautiful in painting, and further amplified them in terms of the function of the *Idea* and allegory.[23] It is important to highlight the theme of the *idea del bello*, because it is central to the debate about the Carracci's reformation of painting, and to what extent Annibale and Domenichino may have fashioned Agucchi and Bellori's views on ideal beauty.

Another contentious issue which I intend to deal with in this thesis, concerns the Carracci *Accademia*. In 1940 Pevsner, in his publication Academies of Art, Past and Present, discussed the Carracci Academy in relation to the *Accademia del Disegno* in Florence and *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome. Pevsner noted that the Carracci established their academy on the lines of the *Accademia del Disegno*. He concluded by saying that there was at least "some" level of theoretical instruction given in the *Accademia del Disegno* and the Carracci Academy. Goldstein picks up on this theme, supporting Pevsner's view-point that there was little evidence to suggest that there was much activity "relating to theoretical instruction."[24] In Pevsner's eyes there was no specific intention on behalf of the directors of the *Accademia del Disegno* to develop a program of academic training. In 1980 Dempsey reviewed Pevsner's stance in his article "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna in the Later Sixteenth Centuries." in the Art Bulletin.[25] He states:

> The early sources, in particular Faberio and Malvasia provide a wealth of information that indicates that the Carracci reform of painting, their methods of teaching, and the true originality of their art, can be understood only as part of the same academic phenomenon that first was institutionalised in the Accademia del Disegno. . .[26]

In direct contradiction to Pevsner and Goldstein, Dempsey stated that the aims of the Carracci were mediated by the desire to give their students a formal education both in theory and practice, using Malvasia, Baglione and Bellori to support his argument. The importance of studying drawing, painting (particularly life studies and observations directly from nature) and theory was a vital aspect of their education. Within the context of theory, the students were given lectures in geometry, perspective, anatomy and natural history. Rhetoric was studied along with poetry and music. Pevsner, Posner, Boschloo and Goldstein, however, under-play these points and suggest that the *Accademia* was run on the same lines as those in Florence or Rome. Goldstein cites Malvasia and says:

> Writers such as Malvasia contributed to this cultural-political campaign by stressing the importance of intellectual activities in the (Carracci) academy and by asserting that it was a centre of attraction not only for artists but also scholars. . .But such a report again raises the question of what sort of role of theoretical instruction may-or may not-have been inspired by the developments in the Florentine Academy.[27]

Another aspect which has been widely debated is the nature of the Carracci's reformation of painting. It is generally agreed by the majority of art historians from Bellori in his *Vite* of 1672 onwards, that the Carracci were reacting against the stylistic tendency we know as mannerism. One of the major questions is what were the motivating factors that caused the Carracci to instigate a reforming doctrine. In 1974 Boschloo attempted to address this question in his publication Annibale Carracci in Bologna: Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent. Boschloo points to a number of causal factors. He discusses the development of painting from the High Renaissance

to mannerism. He then plots the Carracci's reformation in the light of post Tridentine doctrine and Cardinal Paleotti's treatise *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*. Although the treatise is incomplete and only a limited number of copies were made available, the *Discorso* is important evidence of a renewed interest in the codification of ideas on the production and function of images, both sacred and secular. Boschloo discusses the importance of the treatise and Paleotti's views on the function of art as being didactic. He also mentions the role Ulisse Aldrovandi played in assisting Paleotti in writing the treatise, particularly his views on the observation of nature. Aldrovandi was one of the most eminent naturalists in Bologna and a confidant of Paleotti.[28] For Paleotti, like Aldrovandi, nature and science were treated as empirical subjects.

Boschloo begins his book with an analysis of Annibale's paintings showing the influences which were important in bringing about the reformation. He discusses Annibale's art as grounded in a new awareness in the observation of nature, an interest in the art of the High Renaissance, as well as classical sculpture. Boschloo, like Posner and Dempsey, discusses the Carracci's reformation as a reaction against mannerism, in particular against its contorted figural poses and often unnatural colourism. One of the problems which Boschloo, and Posner, did not fully address was the specific nature of the Carracci's reformation in terms of colour, light and shadow. Both Posner and Boschloo mention that Annibale's art reflected certain aspects of Correggio, Barocci, Titian and Veronese at different times. In 1977, Dempsey addressed this specific issue. He discussed the Carracci reform in terms of their rejection of mannerist colourism and design. Dempsey argued that the Carracci's aims in reforming painting were mediated by a desire to reflect nature as it is seen. Within this context he looked at the way Annibale viewed Correggio and Barocci, measuring his own observations and experiences against their paintings. He also analysed Annibale's observations of Venetian colourism and how Annibale drew from Titian, Veronese and Tintoretto the best elements of their techniques. One aspect which Dempsey did not address however, was the actual

pigments which may have been used in the paintings and frescoes. This in itself is difficult to analyse, as many of the Carracci and Domenichino's paintings have yet to be cleaned and restored. I have, however, pointed to a number of works which have undergone restoration, and looked at the type of pigments and techniques used.

John Gage in his article "Color in Western Art: An Issue" in the Art Bulletin further developed the aspect of colour theory and practices, from the early Renaissance through to the 20th century. He says:

> Only around 1600 did the theory of color seem to offer something new and exciting to artists, and the wide-spread movement to integrate the art and science of color, which began essentially at the court of Rudolph II in Prague, was to last for nearly two centuries. . .In Rudolph's entourage, several artists and scholars-the painter Arcimboldo, the mathematician Kepler, the physicians de Boodt and Scarmiglioni-were interested in color, and especially in its relationship to music.[29]

Gage then goes on to discuss Janis Bell's contribution to the whole discussion. She has been working on Matteo Zaccolini's four manuscripts and has added to the debate concerning Annibale's use of colour by her article "Zaccolini's Theory of Color Perspective" in the Art Bulletin.[30] Her on-going research, particularly on Zaccolini's *Prospettiva del colore* is fundamental to establishing the traditions of colour theory and practices in the early Baroque.[31] Bell has shown how Leonardo's Codex Urbino were important in laying down the foundations of colour theory and practice. However, the whole issue of Leonardo's legacy and whether the Carracci had access to the Codex Urbino, is still debated. Gary Walters has suggested in his book Frederico Barocci: Anima Naturaliter, that the Codex Urbino arrived in Urbino sometime in the 1560s.[32] In oral discussions with Martin Kemp and Rosemary Muir Wright, both have questioned this view-point, and suggested a later date, probably nearer to 1580. Kemp pointed out that the Carracci may well have had access to one of the many edited versions compiled by Francesco Melzi, who was bequeathed the manuscript by Leonardo at his death.

It is now necessary to focus attention on the literature on Domenichino himself. In 1982 Richard Spear published his monograph, Domenichino. Spear reanalysed much of the material in Evelina Borea's book: Domenichino, published in 1965. He has made new attributions; in particular, a number of landscapes which had been attributed to Annibale and brought to light new evidence about the painter. He has also further developed certain aspects of Domenichino's intellectual pursuits. The exhibition catalogue from the 1996 *Mostra* in the Palazzo Venezia has also introduced new evidence. It was Spear's chapter on "Domenichino and Music"[33] which first drew me to this topic. Spear says:

> Perhaps the most revealing of all of Domenichino's intellectual pursuits, because it so appositely unites his concern for clarity of dramatic expression and reasoned order is his neglected but well documented devotion to music.[34]

My research sprang from an interest in colour and music theory and practices in the Baroque period, an area which has been greatly neglected. Although Spear touches upon the issue of Domenichino and colour, I aim to show how Domenichino as the heir to Annibale takes on many of the latter's concerns, particularly Annibale's understanding of colour harmonies. Domenichino however goes further in developing his own style of painting and colourism, narrowing his palette of colours and keying his paintings into a modal system which reflected music-like qualities. This interest in music and colour is grounded in the rhetorical language of painting, something of which Domenichino was well aware.

One problem which I think has yet to be codified is the nature of music-colour linguistics. The basic language for colour relies heavily upon music and vice-versa. The correlation's between the two find their roots in Greco-Roman (Latin) terminology. Thus the terms used in the vernacular may have two or more meanings, for example "mode" or *modus* and "tone" or *tonos*. In music the mode denotes a specific scale, for example the Dorian (c, d, e flat, f, g, a, b flat c), or Lydian (c, d, e, f sharp, g, a, b, c); the tone

denoting a single note of the scale. However, in colour theory the mode has a different connotation, as does the tone. Marcia Hall has pointed out in Color and Meaning: Practice and Theory in Renaissance Painting, that there were four modes of colouring, which were first established in the cinquecento. Hall acknowledges that the term "mode" did not enter the artistic vocabulary until the Baroque era. In particular she pointed to Poussin's letter written to his patron Paul Fréart de Chantelou in 1647. Hall states:

> There is evidence, however that. . .artists were already thinking in these terms in the early cinquecento. . .The Roman Humanists in the circle of the papal court had at hand an exemplar for modal thinking in the texts of classical antiquity, particularly those that taught the principles of rhetoric. Baldassare Castiglione and, of course later in the century Lomazzo, each come close to speaking of modes when they pluralize the models of perfection in painting.[35]

For Castiglione the four models were represented by "Leonardo (*sfumato*), Raphael (*unione*), . . .late Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo (*chiaroscuro*) and Michelangelo (*cangiantismo*)".[36] Lomazzo, on the other hand, constructed a model based on a pantheon of seven painters, who exemplified the "highest perfection" in a particular aspect of art. Lomazzo may have been making a direct reference to Plato's construction of the *Harmonia Mundana* or music of the spheres, in which an analogous relationship was being constructed between the seven gods (the protagonists who moved the spheres), the colours of the rainbow, the tones of the musical scale. For Castiglione like Lomazzo, Bellori and Malvasia, saw that there was an analogous relationship between painting and music, based on a specific pantheon of artists who represented the ultimate perfection in their particular field. Like the composer or literary artist, the painter was able to draw upon different modes to convey a wide range of moods through colour, line or form. Thus, for the purposes of this thesis I would define the term "mode" as being applicable not only to a musical scale, but to a colour scale, for example, cream, yellow, ochre, brown and so on. Like the Carracci, Domenichino was conversant with the

Platonic and Aristotelian concept that the tonal and modal scales of music and colour were linked. It is therefore conceivable that the Carracci and Domenichino in particular, saw the term "mode" or "tone" as being applicable in a much broader sense. The modal system in music defines a specific key, for example C major (c-c), G major (g-f sharp-g), etc.[37] Likewise, it is possible that colour scales can also be seen to operate in the same manner, something I will explore further in the thesis.[38] It was not until the early 20th century that specific studies into the psychological effects between colour and sound/music became codified, and in particular the issue of synaesthesia (the simultaneous triggering of several senses by the same stimulus).[39]

In many respects the issue of colour, light and shadow is a complex one. The problem inherent in analysing colour is that we all perceive colours in different ways. It has been proven that short and long sighted people (as well as those who suffer with colour blindness), see certain colours as being more dominant or recessive. One also has to take into account the amount of light or darkness of the location which will have an effect on how, and what we see.[40] The other problem with analysing paintings and frescoes by the Carracci and Domenichino is that they have obviously become darkened with age. Certain pigments have reacted due to chemical changes and I have tried where possible to point this out. Restoration and over-painting have also contributed to these changes. So what we see now is not always truly representative of the artist's intention. The biggest and most difficult problem when dealing with the issue of colour has been with the reproductions. Photographs do not always give an accurate and clear indication of the true hues and tones, due to the amount of light, the speed of the film, printing, type of paper and finish etc. Access to certain paintings and frescoes has been denied to me on a number of occasions, due to restoration work or I have been restricted from photographing them. Therefore, I have used black and white images, with a detailed discussion of the actual colours used in the works.

In this introduction I have pointed to the issues which will be drawn out within this thesis. I begin with Domenichino's education, within the *Scuola di Grammatica* and the Carracci's *Accademia*. The first chapter will also deal with the development of the Carracci's colour practices which will lay the foundations to show what Domenichino assimilated from his masters. It is important, however, that new evidence, such as Annibale's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr and the two copies by Annibale, drawn from Correggio's frescoes in the Duomo in Parma is included. These works not only prove and substantiate Malvasia's claims that Annibale and Agostino were in Venice in 1580, but have important implications to our reading and understanding of their "reformation" of painting and its foundations. Much of this material has been drawn into the thesis after my experiences studying under Professor Charles Dempsey. As a consequence of this, there has been a shift in emphasis away from a specific study of Domenichino to look at wider issues of colour theory and practices adopted in the Carracci *Accademia*.

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[1] Charles Dempsey, Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style, 1977, p. 1.
[2] Michael Jaffé "The Carracci Exhibition at Bologna," Burlington Magazine, no. 643, vol. XCVIII, October 1956, p. 393.
[3] Dwight Miller, "Seventeenth Century Emilian Painting at Bologna," Burlington Magazine, no. 673, vol. CI, April 1959, p. 206.
[4] Domenichino 1581-1641, Rome, Palazzo Venezia, 10th October 1996-14th January 1997, Electa, Milan, 1996, pp. 1-593.
[5] Dempsey, 1977, p. 3.
[6] Donald Posner, Annibale Carracci, 1971, p. vii-viii.
[7] ibid.
[8] Dempsey, Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting Around 1590, p. viii-ix.
[9] The only part of the text which still exists was published in the preface of Simon Guillain's etchings after Annibale Carracci's drawings of the artisans of Bologna. The discourse was however, attributed under the name of Giovanni Atanasio Mosini, the owner of the original drawings from which Guillain made the etchings. For a brief history of the *Trattato*, see Mahon, 1947, pp. 111-154.
[10] Dempsey, 1977, p. 3.
[11] Posner, Annibale Carracci, I, 1971, p. 45.

[12] Denis Mahon, Burlington Magazine, 128, 1986, pp. 790-95.
[13] Charles Dempsey and Elizabeth Cropper, Art Bulletin, December 1987, LXIX, no 4, pp. 494-508.
[14] Stephen Pepper, "An Exchange on 'The State of Research in Italian 17th-Century Painting,'" Art Bulletin, June 1989, LXXI, no. 2. pp. 305-307.
[15] Dempsey and Cropper, Art Bulletin, June 1989, LXXI, no. 2. pp. 307-309.
[16] Posner, Annibale Carracci, London, 1971. Posner also claims that Malvasia mentions that Annibale was also there at the same time. See chapter 5, pp. 45-52.
[17] David Summers, The Judgement of Sense, Cambridge University Press, 1987.
[18] Jaqueline Lichtenstein, The Eloquence of Color, University of California Press, 1989.
[19] Bellori also became acquainted with some of the most influential collectors and patrons in Rome, including Vicenzo Giustiniani, Cassiano del Pozzo, Cardinals Aldobrandini, Barberini and Massimo. For a brief history on Bellori, See Catherine Enggass's translation of The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci, in particular the Forward by Robert Enggass, pp.vii-xix.
[20] Mahon, 1947, pp. 64-65.
[21] Summers, 1987, p. 1.
[22] Lichtenstein, The Eloquence of Color, 1993, p. 8.
23 Summers, The Judgement of Sense, 1987, p. 2: "I shall argue that however great the importance of the platonic idea of beauty (or beauty of the idea) may have been in the Renaissance, other traditions of meaning shaped the discussion of art of the period at its deepest levels, at the level of its naturalism, of its composition and expressiveness, and of its articulation of the judgements concomitant to its actual execution."
[24] Carl Goldstein, Visual Fact Over Verbal Fiction, 1988, p. 81. Also see Pepper The Age of Correggio and the Carracci, Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1986, pp. 325-340.
[25] Dempsey, Art Bulletin, 62, 1980, pp. 552-69.
[26] ibid, p. 559.
[27] Goldstein, 1988, p. 85.
[28] The Age of Correggio and the Carracci, Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1986, p.217. As Giuseppe Olmi and Paolo Prodi discuss in their article "Art, Science and Nature in Bologna Circa 1600" (which was written as the accompanying text, for the exhibition in 1986 The Age of Correggio and the Carracci): "He [Paleotti] felt strongly the need to link Christian piety with science, and pressed the intellectuals to involve themselves directly in religious life, yet this never implied that rational research was in any way subordinated or of less importance. Indeed he appears to have been fully aware of the clear distinction between the world of nature, which needs to be investigated with the reason and the evidence of one's senses, and the supernatural world, can only be known only through faith and revelation that the Church preserves and passes on."
[29] John Gage, Art Bulletin, December 1990, vol. LXXII, no. 4, p. 527.
[30] Janice Bell, Art Bulletin, March 1993.
[31] Bell, Colour and Theory in Seicento Art (Zaccolini's "Prospettiva del Colore" and the Heritage of Leonardo), Doctoral thesis, Brown University, 1983.
[32] Gary Walters, Frederico Barrocci, Anima Naturaliter, 1978, pp. 44-45.
[33] Richard Spear, Domenichino, 1982, pp. 40-46. My underlining.
[34] ibid, p. 40.
[35] Marcia Hall, "The Modes of Coloring in the Cinquecento," Color and Meaning: Practice and Meaning in Renaissance Painting, 1992, p. 93. See glossary, p. 245-248, for a definition of each of the four modes of colouring.
[36] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. George Bull, Penguin Classics, 1976, p. 82. Castiglione was using an analogy between different styles of singing, painting and rhetoric. He says, "In music, for example, the strains are now solemn and slow, now very fast and different in mood and manner. . .Similarly our eyes are equally delighted by spectacles of various kinds. . .In painting, for example Leonardo da Vinci, Mantegna, Raphael, Michelangelo and Giorgio da Castelfranco are all outstanding: nevertheless, they are all unlike each other in their work."
[37]The modern tonal system is based on the relative pitch and wave length of sound, for example, middle C is 261 hertz, and the A above middle C is 440 hertz. In the Renaissance and Baroque period levels of pitch moved up and down and had not been codified.
[38] Since colour linguistics is notoriously difficult I have therefore included a basic dictionary of terms in the appendix pp. 373-375.

[39] Wassily Kadinsky, was one of the first painters to recognise the physiological associations between colour and sound. In the first edition of his manifesto On the Spiritual in Art (1912), he stated: "Anyone who has heard of colour therapy knows that coloured light can have a particular effect on the entire body. Various attempts to exploit the power of colour and apply it to different nervous disorders have again noted that red light has an enlivening and stimulating effect upon the heart, while blue, on the other hand, can lead to temporary paralysis. If this sort of effect can also be observed in the case of animals, and even plants, then any explanation in terms of association completely falls down. These facts in any case prove that colour contains within itself a little studied but enormous power, which can influence the entire human body as a physical organism."

[40] The issue of colour, light and shadow has been dealt with in Vision and Visual Perception, ed. C. H. Graham, 1965, in particular, chapter two on "Some Basic Terms and Methods" in which he discusses the issue of hue, saturation and brightness. Graham points out that colours change according to the amount of light and darkness. The eye accommodates for the changes by the widening or narrowing of the aperture of the pupil. The information is passed onto the back of the retina and the cones, which register the colours, which is then sent on to the brain. If for any reason the pupil does not function properly, the information falls short (myopic or short sightedness) or behind the cones (hypermytropic or long sightedness) of the retina, thus creating a blurred image. In chapter nine "Colour Blindness" and chapter ten "Colour: Data and Theories," Graham points out that men suffer from colour blindness more so than women. The most common form of colour blindness is between red and green, as well as yellow and turquoise/purple hues.

Chapter One
Domenichino's Education and the Carracci Legacy

Within his own life time Domenichino was hailed by many of his contemporaries as one of the most eminent painters and theoretical musicians. In order to define the relationship between Domenichino's theoretical and practical interests in painting and music, one must look at the basis of his early education and his pupillage, firstly at the *Scuola di Grammatica* and then at the Carracci *Accademia*. This period of study laid the foundations for much of his later intellectual interests.

Domenichino's first master Denys Calvert, however, had little influence upon his work. Whereas Domenichino's second master Annibale was highly influential. Annibale, like his brother Agostino and his cousin Ludovico took certain aspects of the works of Correggio, Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, Barocci and Leonardo's colourism and fused them together. This brought about the "reformation" of painting. Domenichino, as the heir to Annibale, takes on certain aspects of his master's art, and during his career creates his own distinctive style of painting, based on a new harmonisation of colour which could be matched to sound.

Domenichino's Early Education

Evidence of Domenichino's early education in the *Scuola di Grammatica* is scant.[1] What little information that is available can be gleaned from Bellori,[2] Passeri,[3] Baglione[4] and Malvasia.[5] Malvasia, in particular, states that Domenichino remained at the *Scuola* beyond the usual age of 12 or 13 to continue his studies with the possible aim of entering university or the priesthood. The goal of the *Scuola* was the "teaching of eloquence, elegance of speech and copiousness of writing; the basic curriculum was constructed around a constant drilling in grammar."[6] On entering the *Scuola* the boys began their education in elementary Latin. The pupils would have been versed in the

classical texts of ancient Greece and Rome. The most commonly available texts used were Ioannes Despauterius' *Grammatica Latina* and *Syntax*, as well as Donatus' *Ars Minor* (also known as the *Janua*). Once the child had grasped the basics of reading, pronunciation, declension, and conjugation in Latin, he would move on to irregular morphology and the elements of syntax. At this level the students were also introduced to the letters of Cicero, *Epistole Familiares* and Cato's *Distisha de Moribus*.

There is documentary evidence to suggest that Domenichino owned at least one (Latin) copy of Ovid's Metamorphoses[7] (as did many of his fellow artists), and was well acquainted with Virgil's Aeneid and Georgics and other important sources of classical mythology. The foundations of rhetoric were laid through reading Plato and Aristotle as well as Quintillian[8] and Cicero.[9] In spite of this, we have no exact knowledge of the syllabus which Domenichino or his contemporaries would have followed. The majority of the masters of the *Scuola di Grammatica* who regulated the syllabus were drawn from the University of Bologna. Domenichino would also have had a rudimentary education in music, mathematics, numerology and related subjects which were part of the *quadrivium*.[10] Within the context of the *quadrivium*, such publications as Nichomachus of Durasa's treatise on mathematics would have been studied. Nichomachus' treatise was one of the most widely published and easily accessible works on mathematics available during the Renaissance. The Bolognese *Scuola di Grammatica* were not dissimilar from other *Scuola* in Italy which were run on similar lines.[11]

Like any parent with ambitions for their children, perhaps Domenichino's father saw the possibility of his youngest son entering one of the professions, such as the law, or the church.[12] To what degree Domenichino's father was willing to accept the young Domenico Zampieri's wish to take up painting as a career is not clearly stated by any of Domenichino's biographers. Baglione, in his brief *Vita* on Domenichino, published in Rome in 1642 under the title of *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, mentions that

Domenichino was studying rhetoric when he was struck with the wish to become a painter.[13] This may seem a fanciful and anecdotal image but it is further supported by Bellori's view in his *Vita* on Domenichino that, he was above all, a painter of considerable intellectual ability.[14] Domenichino may have shown great potential as a youngster, but without specific information it would be injudicious to take at face value the claims which were made by Baglione, Bellori and Malvasia.

Giampietro Zampieri, responding to his son's declared aim and aware of his son's precocious talent, placed him in the workshop of the Flemish artist Denys Calvaert who had settled in Bologna and established a studio in 1575.[15] Gabrielle, Zampieri's eldest son had begun drawing lessons under Calvaert, but showed little application or talent. Calvaert's studio was one of the most notable and successful in Bologna during the late 1570s and 80s. Calvaert had initiated a training program for his students based on his personal knowledge of Roman 16th century art and architecture. Calvert's *bottega* was typical of 16th century workshops, and the basic education of the *garzone* or assistant, would have differed little from a student in the 15th century. Upon entering the *bottega*, the *garzone* would be taught how to grind pigments and make paint and how to stretch and prime canvases and prepare panels. The *garzone* would then take drawing lessons, copying plaster casts, sculptures and from drawing books.[16] Once they had mastered drawing and perspective, they would then advance to lessons in painting, progressing from assisting the master with his commissions. Having mastered the techniques of painting, they could then leave the studio to begin their careers as painters, although not necessarily following their master's manner or style of painting.

We know from Malvasia's accounts that the relationship between master and pupil was not without altercation.[17] Calvaert, like any other painter, was deeply competitive and suspicious of his fellow artists, so when he found out that Domenichino had obtained a drawing by one of the Carracci and was making copies, Calvaert reprimanded him, hitting him some time later for dropping a primed copper plate.[18] Life

in the studio could be extremely hard for the *garzone* and beatings were not uncommon. As Calvaert was an over zealous disciplinarian, it is of little surprise that Domenichino fled, as did others like Guido Reni and Albani, from Calvaert's studio.[19] Domenichino entered the Carracci *Accademia* in 1595. Agostino was acquainted with Domenichino's father and will have introduced Domenichino to Annibale and Ludovico. Malvasia mentions that Agostino was also impressed by the young man's talent.

The Carracci *Accademia*

It is important to look at the Carracci *Accademia*. The Carracci were seeking to establish an academy, based on the *Accademia del Disegno* in Florence and the *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome. Unlike the others, the Carracci perhaps constructed something akin to an educational curriculum. The controversy over this issue as to whether the Carracci *Accademia* was truly an academic establishment, with a defined educational curriculum is still contested by Mahon, Posner, Boschloo, Goldstein, Kitson and Dempsey. The term *Accademia* was loosely defined in the 16th century and was used widely and some what indiscriminately to denote not only professional but amateur groups of artists, musicians or *letterati* who worked together in their particular field and discussed pertinent issues. It is generally agreed by art historians that the Carracci's *Accademia dei Desiderosi* (or the Academy of the Desirous as it was first known) was established along the lines of the Bolognese *Accademia degli Indifferenti* which was founded by the painter Bernardino Baldi in the 1570s as a meeting place for artists to study life drawing.[20] The *Accademia dei Desiderosi* may have been founded on the same principles as the *Accademia degli Indifferenti*, in particular with its emphasis on life drawing.

Malvasia writes that in 1582 Ludovico, Agostino and Annibale, established their Academy in Ludovico's rooms.[21] He suggests that Ludovico invited his two cousins to join him in his workshop, probably in 1579-80. The eldest of the three, Ludovico was

already an established artist unlike Annibale and Agostino, and as a result of this, he became head of the academy. Ludovico was well versed in Florentine art having worked under Passignano in Florence in 1576-7.[22] His visit to the city in the early years of the 1570s gave him the opportunity to study the works of Pontormo, Rosso, del Sarto, Vasari and their followers. For his part, Agostino probably gave lessons in theory, drawing and print making, as he was known for his mastery of the engraving technique. It is also documented by Malvasia that Agostino was one of the leading lights in matters of rhetoric, poetry and music.[23]

Other models for the Carracci *Accademia* were the Florentine *Accademia del Disegno*[24] and the *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome. These academies were ". . .[academies] of design which students can study the noble profession of design as well as study painting, sculpture and architecture at their wont."[25] During the directorship of Vicenzo Borghini (ca. 1570) the *Accademia del Disegno* held lectures, debates and conferences at the Ospitale degli Innocenti in Florence, as did the *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome, and the Carracci *Accademia* did the same.[26]

With the formation of the *Accademia degli Desiderosi*, the Carracci may have seen the possibility of establishing an *Accademia* with a wider educational basis. The Carracci changed of name of the academy from the *Accademia degli Desiderosi* to the *degli Incamminati* in 1602. This may hold a number of clues and could imply that there was a change in direction.[27] The term *Desiderosi*, or the desirous, may have been chosen to indicate the Carraccis' aim to establish a formal academy of art. The change of name, and emphasis away from just a desire to create an academy, must not only be seen in light of their own personal artistic successes, but in the growth and development of a fully fledged teaching and training centre for young artists.[28] This suggests that they saw it not as a mere a *bottega*, or workshop. Not only was life drawing and painting taught, but there was some level of theoretical instruction given by outside speakers. Both Malvasia and Bellori support this view-point by citing specific cases. For example, the

naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, the composer Claudio Merulo and the painter Ercole Procaccini, were all known to have given lectures.[29] Malvasia and Bellori also pointed out that the *Accademia* became one of the most notable meeting places for academics and intellectuals as well as gentlemen and the nobility.[30] This and other evidence, which will be introduced later on, suggests that the Carracci were in fact trying to construct some sort of formalised educational training and curriculum. For Bellori and Malvasia, the Carracci *Accademia* was established with the aim of educating their students, not only in the techniques of painting, but in the wider "arts" and sciences. This supports Dempsey's view-point that:

> . . .one of the most important innovations of the Carracci Academy was the manner in which they combined under one roof the functions of a university, the training of the young, with the function of an academy, original enquiry, and in so doing not only revolutionised the means of educating artists but anticipated in a remarkable way the functions of modern university faculty.[31]

Ludovico was seeking recognition for the academy (and consequently more prestigious and profitable patronage) as an academy of painting. He was working at the same time to establish a Bolognese *Compagnia de' Pittori.*[32] In February 1602 a group of Bolognese artists, some of whom were members of the Carracci academy petitioned the Papal Vice-Legate in Bologna to establish a *Compagnia de' Pittori.*

Six weeks after the approval for a Bolognese *Compagnia de' Pittori* by the Papal Vice-Legate, Ludovico travelled to Rome to arrange formal ties between the Roman and Bolognese *Compagnia de' Pittori.* The renamed *Accademia degli Incamminati* would have profited as an academy of art through its association with the *Compagnia de' Pittori.*[33]

With Annibale in Rome working on the Palazzo Farnese, Ludovico may have seen the opportunity for a further link with the *Accademia di San Luca.* The reasons why the venture never came to fruition are a matter of conjecture. Ludovico's disappointment

over Annibale's wish to stay in Rome, instead of returning to Bologna, may account for his growing disenchantment with the prospect of formal recognition of the Carracci academy. The fact that Annibale drew Albani, Domenichino and Reni to Rome may have further exacerbated the situation. Annibale's death in 1609 finally brought to an end any realistic hopes that Ludovico had in establishing links with the *Accademia di San Luca.*[34]

The Carracci's Reaction Against Mannerism and the Beginnings of the Reforming Style

We will now explore the debate surrounding the Carracci's development and "reformation of painting." A brief examination of mannerism will assist in analysing the Carracci's achievements.

During the 1560s and 1570s, was a growing movement within the Arts towards greater exaggeration of line, form and colour, which we now refer to as mannerism. As Maria Rika Maniates discusses in her book Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, the purpose of mannerism was to astound:

> When the shock value wore off, mannerists moved on to yet more startling effects [in painting and music]. The canon of the "marvellous" therefore becomes more and more stylised. *Meraviglia* rests on a calculated novelty and deliberate stylization addressed to a select audience whose sensibilities appreciate the wit of mannerist play.[35]

The legacy of Michaelangelo's art and colourism, as well as growing mannerist tendencies of his followers, left an indelible mark on the arts during the 1540s to 1590s. One of the major issues for the Carracci was to readdress the balance of colour and the effects of light and shadow, and to reconcile these elements in their paintings. In the eyes of the Carracci, good artistic practice was born from blending different "modes" of colour and design together to create the perfect painting.

Other elements also came into play in the "reformation" of the Carraccis' art. In particular the rejection of mannerist canons of *disegno*, the over-exaggeration of

musculature and elongated figures, exemplified by Vasari and his followers.[36] This type of mannerist style can be found in the Florentine artist Giaccomo Coppi's work The Miraculous Crucifix of Beirut (1591) in San Zaccaria in Bologna. The extraordinary poses and figural contortions are reminiscent of Michelangelo. Coppi was obviously more concerned with *disegno* and assimilating something of Michelangelo's *terribilità* (or the overbearing mightiness of his figures), as he uses a minimal colour range. Important to the Carracci was the rejection of exaggerated *colorito* and *cangiantismo*-type effects (unnatural combinations of hues and tones), and *chiaroscuro*, in favour of a more naturalistic aesthetic.

Bartolomeo Passerotti's St. Dominic and the Albigensians ca. 1580, (plate 1) in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna is typical of the late Bolognese mannerist period and exactly the style of painting against which the Carracci were reacting. Passerotti uses unnatural colour relations. For example, flesh tones are oddly coloured, and seem to have an orange tinge. The odd *cangiantismo* effects used in creating the robes of the right hand figure are completely unnatural. Colours seem to bear little or no relation to each other. The yellow hue of his robe is strongly acidic and does not balance with the pink robe of the man behind him. The odd figural pose of the man, and the exaggerated elongation of his body are all typical mannerist traits.

It is also worth noting a further example of Passerotti's work: The Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple of 1583, painted for the church of Gabella Grossa in Bologna (plate 2). Looking at the woman on the left, it is possible to see that the her dress moves from aubergine (in the shadows) through to deep maroon/burgundy in the highlights. The red drapery is shot with turquoise, creating very strong *cangiantismo*-like effects. The shadows of the sleeve are painted in turquoise, dark blue and green, which are seemingly unnatural combinations of hues and tones.

New Evidence of Annibale and Agostino's Travels to Parma and Venice in 1580

In 1958 Cavalli questioned the validity of Malvasia as a source and suggested that the Carracci could not have constructed a coherent doctrine for the "reformation" of painting by 1582.[37] This view is extremely questionable. Malvasia points out that Annibale and Agostino had both been sent to Parma and Venice by Ludovico in 1580, so they undoubtedly had an ample theoretical and practical basis from which to develop a new style of painting. It has been generally accepted by art historians that Agostino first visited Venice in 1582, Annibale going sometime later in 1583-4. Cavalli, like Posner after him, believed the three letters written by Annibale and Agostino from Parma and Venice in 1580 to have been fabricated by Malvasia. Therefore, in Cavalli and Posner's eyes Annibale and Agostino would have had little visual knowledge of Correggio and Parmiganino or Titian, Veronese and Tintoretto, apart from those works in Bologna or the vicinity of the city. The aim of this section is to readdress this issue in light of new pictorial and documentary evidence, which will prove Malvasia was in fact correct, and that the three letters can be used as conclusive evidence to support the view that Annibale and Agostino did in fact travel to Parma and Venice in 1580.

It is well documented by Malvasia and Bellori that the Carracci as well as Domenichino and his contemporaries were sent off to Modena and Reggio Emilia, to look at Correggio's La Notte in the Basilica of St. Prospero and St. Roch Distributing Alms and then on to Parma.[38] The importance of these trips underlines the nature of the artistic education that the Carracci impressed upon their students. Like their students, Agostino and Annibale were sent by Ludovico to study the works of Correggio in Parma: in particular, the Assumption of the Virgin in the cupola of the Duomo (plate 3), the Bedoli organ shutters (plate 4); and the pendentives of the Four Evangelists and The Vision of St. John the Evangelist in San Giovanni Evangelista. They would also have been expected to study the Bedoli and Parmigianino frescoes and the organ shutters in Santa Maria della Steccata. These studies would have included making notes on the

figural poses, colourism, *chiaroscuro*, and *sfumato* and other painterly effects. The importance of visiting these centres can not be stressed too highly, as it was this eclectic nature of amassing visual material which formed a major component of an artist's training.[39] For the Carracci, this could only be attained by an empirical study of each of the *chiaroscuro*, *unione*, *cangiantisimo* and *sfumato* "modes" of colouring, as well as a theoretical knowledge of the function of colour. By assimilating different modal styles of colour, from various artists, the Carracci and their students were trying to synthesise and distil, into their own works, elements of a new mode of painting that was ultimately grounded in a greater observation of nature.[40]

Annibale In Parma: The Impact of Correggio's Art

Malvasia claims that on the 18th of April, 1580 Annibale wrote to Ludovico from Parma expressing his delight on seeing Correggio's Assumption of the Virgin in the Duomo:

> I couldn't help going immediately to see the great cupola, which so many times you have commended to me, and still I remain stupefied, seeing such a great machine, everything was so well understood, everything seen so clearly from the bottom to top with exactness, but at the same time with such judgement, with such grace, and with such colour that is so true to living flesh. . .tell your Parmigianino to be patient, because I now know I have been able to imitate all the grace of this great man, because Correggio's little putti breathe, live and laugh with a grace and reality such that one is compelled to laugh and be happy with them. . .[41]

The number of copies after Correggio testifies to his importance as a major source of inspiration for many artists. One drawing in particular, in the British Library, is taken from one of the nude figures on the rim of the parapet at the north side of the Duomo fresco in Parma, has yet to be attributed. There is evidence to suggest that this

drawing is by Annibale (plate 5).[42] In a recent academic discussion with the head curator of the British Museum prints and drawings collection, he accepted the attribution first made in this text. The tight feather-like hatching and *sfumato*-type effects, particularly around the stomach area and under the arm is similar to Annibale's early drawing technique.[43] There is further evidence to support this hypothesis. The drawing by Annibale relates to one of two works painted by Annibale which now hang in the Capodimonte in Naples.[44]

Evidence of the paintings being in Parma in 1587 can be found in the recently published Farnese inventories from 1587 to 1595. It is believed that these works were purchased by Andrea Casalino, a master goldsmith, who acted as a talent scout for the Farnese. The first painting (which the above drawing relates to), shows a section of the northern part of the lower rim of the Duomo; the second is drawn from a series of figures next to the Virgin. This is supported by a second letter (dated the 28th of April 1580), edited and published by Malvasia, in which he cites that Annibale, had made a number of copies after Correggio:

> . . .he [Andrea Casalino] said he'll take all the heads that I copy from the cupola, and others from private paintings, that he will obtain from Correggio for me to copy. . .[45]

These works prove that Annibale wished to show off and exhibit his talents as a painter. It also suggests that Annibale was actively seeking to gain the patronage of the Farnese family. This obviously had important ramifications in terms of Annibale's later successes, in particular winning the commission for the Palazzo Farnese frescoes.

Through his own careful studies, Annibale was able to test his own observations of *chiaroscuro* and *colore* against Correggio to see whether he was able to imitate the same effects. Annibale observed how Correggio had used the natural light to punctuate certain points within the painting. For example, in the way the drapery of the right hand angel in the *Madonna della Scodella* (National Gallery, Parma) (plate 6) is highlighted against the tree line, and the dappled light effects on the fingers of Joseph as he grasps

the palm fonds. Annibale uses the same technique in his first commissioned work, The Crucifixion in Santa Maria della Carità in Bologna (plate 7). The face and hands of the monk in the forefront are hidden in shadow. However, the hands of the Virgin who stands directly behind him are bathed in light. The boy standing behind the figure of the bishop is cast in shadow apart from half his face, which is in the light. It is this aspect of using a mobile, shifting light which is such a contributory factor to the potential for movement within the painting, as though at any moment the light may change its density.[46]

Annibale use of a fairly loosely woven canvas encourages these effects of light. A fine layer of gesso and possibly several layers of chalk either in oil or an aqueous solution would be laid over the whole canvas surface. The refractive index of the chalk is so low as to dampen the effects of colours washed over the areas of chalk, thus taking on a translucent quality, a technique which is only associated with oil painting. The paint is then applied using broad washes of grey and dark brown as a base.

In The Crucifixion, Annibale has laid down thin layers of grey wash for the monk's robes. This may well have been lamp black or charcoal in a solution of walnut or linseed oil to which olio d' Abezzo (Strasbourg turpentine) is added as a thinning agent. He then uses a white highlight made up of a mixture of lead-white and a little oil to create a crumbly texture and brushes this over the robe. The canvas surface thus only picks up a light dusting of the white highlight and is not saturated. This allows the areas in highlight to oscillate, and the light seems to shift. Annibale also uses this technique to create effects of mobile light upon skin.

The Carracci, like their students were also struck by Correggio's technique of rendering *viva carne* or living flesh.[47] It is possible to get an idea of the technique he used when looking at the unfinished Allegory of Virtue in Edinburgh (plate 8). Once the canvas had been primed, Correggio drew the figures in with a light wash of brown paint, made of crushed brick and oil. He then added lead-white and worked the flesh tones on

top of this. The subtlety of modulation is particularly evident in the face and breast of the woman on the right. The shadows around her left cheek are created by adding a grey translucent wash to her olive skin, thus creating a *morbidezza*, or softness. This observation may have been founded in Leonardo's own understanding of tonal modelling and colour relations and reflections.[48] Correggio drew upon Leonardo's concerns of reflecting light or *reflessi*. If one looks at the child, the light from the dark blue fabric is cast onto his stomach. The area is tinged with a mid-blue which has been reflected from the fabric opposite. Correggio's system of colour reverberation is based not only on mere observation, but on a theoretical understanding of how the blue hue is transmitted to the child's stomach. He uses a mid-value blue, possibly lapis lazuli, which is worked up in thin transparent washes, to allow him to control the amount of reflected light. Using this system is time consuming, as thin layers of oil wash are built up to create a translucent, glass-like effect, therefore allowing the flesh tones to retain something of their original intensity. It also means that by adding these translucent layers it does not disturb the degree of *chiaroscuro* required.

Annibale, Agostino and Domenichino's Assumption of the Virgin: Correggio's Legacy

Domenichino was obviously acquainted with Correggio's Assumption of the Virgin with Saints and Angels in the Duomo in Parma. If one looks at his Assumption of the Virgin (plate 9) in Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, it is clear that Domenichino's painting is indebted to Correggio as well as Agostino and Annibale, who also drew their inspiration from this work. This can be demonstrated by looking at Agostino's Assumption in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (plate 10) and Annibale's painting of the same title in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome (plate 11). All three use the same figural pose based on the Virgin in Correggio's fresco. The difference between the Correggio and the Carracci-Domenichino paintings lies in the shift in angle

of the Virgin's position. Correggio's Virgin is painted on the most convex part of the dome. The figure is dramatically foreshortened which accentuates the thrust of the figure upwards. Both Agostino and Annibale's paintings hang vertically and there is little need for such extensive foreshortening. In both these paintings, the Virgin is seen in a fully frontal position, with her arms out-stretched. Domenichino's painting, however, lies in the middle of the coffered ceiling, and therefore, the viewer is forced to stand in the centre of the nave and look directly heavenwards. Thus Domenichino has foreshortened the figure, but not to the same degree as in Correggio's fresco. Both Passeri and Malvasia confirm that Domenichino had visited Parma, and probably knew Correggio's fresco in the Duomo well.[49] Domenichino's Assumption of the Virgin follows the same colour pattern, using a carefully modulated system of mid-value tones. Like Correggio, Domenichino floods the scene in a yellow light. This has the effect of bringing the lighter colours forward and dampening the darker colours, so that no one colour bounces out of key. It appears that Domenichino was offering his own critique and interpretation on Correggio's Assumption of the Virgin, for which his education in the Carracci shop had prepared him.

Annibale and Agostino In Venice: Annibale's Copy of Titian's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr

New evidence has recently come to light with respect to a copy, after Titian, of The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr (private collection, London) by Annibale (plate 12).[50] The rediscovery of this painting is of great significance in terms of our reading of Malvasia as a valid source of evidence, because it further substantiates Malvasia's claim that Annibale and Agostino made their first visit to Venice in June 1580. Modern art historians usually subscribe to the view that Annibale did not travel to Venice until completing The Crucifixion with Saints. With the rediscovery of Annibale's copy after

Titian's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, the evidence needs to be re-examined. For the first time it can seen that Annibale had assimilated the canons of Venetian *colorito e disegno* before his first confirmed commission.[51]

Harold Wethey mentions that the copy after Titian by Niccolo Cassana, which hangs in the original chapel of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, undoubtedly preserves the same colour scheme of Titian's work.[52] Annibale uses the same colour scheme and pigments of ultramarine-blue[53] for the sky and mountains; lead white, lamp black, a mixture of soot and some other compound, for the monk's robes; as well as mercuric sulphide or vermilion for the assassin's breeches and greenish-brown for the trees and earth which are all completely in Titian's style. Although the colour scheme is standard even if he had never seen the work, there are many similarities which would suggest that he did in fact see the original. The painting is almost exactly the same size as Titian's original which measured 5.15+3.08 metres. Malvasia does not mention whether the copy was painted in Venice or was done in the studio in Bologna. Fröhlisch-Bum mentions that there are two drawings copied from Titian's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr in the Musée Bonnat which are regarded as studies by the Carracci, although she does not state who drew them.[54] Numerous copies after Titian's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr exist, however these two drawings are likely to be preparatory works by Annibale, since they both show Annibale's "hand" in them.

Annibale uses the same format of figural poses as Titian, however, he manipulates the poses slightly. If one looks at another copy of the painting attributed to Filippo Lauri in the Galleria Pallavicini, notable differences can be seen (plate 13). Annibale's figures are set right in front of the picture plane. Therefore, they appear larger. He has cut out the trunk of the tree on the far right and also has removed some of the foliage at the very top of the painting. The landscape no longer dominates; in this respect the structure of Annibale's painting is more compact.

If, as has been suggested, that Annibale had visited Venice in 1580, then this copy shows to what extent he had assimilated the canons of Titian's colourism and style. The richness and luminosity of colour can only have been learned from a direct knowledge of Titian and Veronese. If one compares the two angels at the top of the painting with Titian's two angels in his Madonna of the House of Pesaro (Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice), (plate 14) there are a number of similarities. Annibale handles the paint in the same manner as Titian. The figures of the putti are painted in *sfumato*, with delicate modulations of hue and tone, particularly the handling of the flesh. Annibale adopts the same palate of colours as Titian; the rosy pink skin is tinged with a pale lemon light, which is built up in thin layers of wash. The strong *chiaroscuro*-effects heightens their rotundity, as the light picks up the rolls of skin. One of the notable differences lies in Annibale's handling of the cloud formation behind the angels. The extraordinary colours of burnt orange/red[55] and yellow (lead-tin yellow) are more reminiscent of Veronese and Tintoretto. This is obvious too in the rendering of the leaves of the trees.[56] The block-like colours and highlights on the leaves seem to be more in keeping with Veronese's technique than Titian's. This would suggest that Annibale also studied the works of Veronese, and was offering his own critique upon Titian's painting by employing different techniques and styles.

This is the work of a young artist, because certain problems have yet to be fully resolved. The figural poses are well executed but certain aspects, particularly the awkward handling of the murderer's foot and head, suggest that he was still trying to resolve his handling of anatomy. It may have been on Ludovico's advice that Annibale attempted to make the copy. The use of expensive pigments and size of the canvas would indicate that this painting was a show piece. It would have served to prove and promote Annibale's talents as a painter, demonstrating his capabilities.

Variations on a Theme: Domenichino and Guercino's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr

Both Domenichino and Guercino (another student of the Carracci *Accademia*) were probably well acquainted with Annibale's painting of The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr.[57] Domenichino was commissioned to paint a variation on the theme of The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr (plate 15) for the church of San Domenico in Brisighella (Faenza). Domenichino's painting differs in a number of ways from Titian original and Annibale's copy.[58] The figures are reversed and are set right at the forefront of the painting. St. Peter Martyr and his companion are painted in the cream and black robes of the Dominican order. The executioner is seen in red pantaloons and mustard top, balancing the polarity of cream and black. The exaggerated colours in Annibale's painting, particularly around the putti and the trees are however rendered in a more naturalistic manner by Domenichino. The red and yellow halo of clouds around the putti in Annibale's painting has given way to softer pale lemon yellow and grey. Domenichino does not use the thick *impasto* style of textured layers of paint to create the leaves and bark of the trees. His handling of the monk's robes is also different. There is clearer definition in the modelling of the drapery and the figures are more rounded. If one compares the figure of the fleeing monk one can see a number of differences between Annibale and Domenichino. Annibale's handling of the paint is more loose and *impasto*. The use of *chiaroscuro* is very much more evident, in particular around the knee and thigh area. Domenichino's use of shadow around the monk's calf is stiff, with little modulation of light to dark. Domenichino seems to have been unable to manipulate or resolve this technique of creating a mobile light source, to the same degree that Annibale perfected this technique. Light and shadows are rendered in blocks and there is little potential movement. It is only after Domenichino's contact with Zaccolini in 1623,

that he begins to manipulate the effects of *luminare* or light in a manner similar to Annibale. (This will be discussed in Chapter Seven).

Guercino's version of The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (plate 16) is very different in style to both Annibale's and Domenichino's, although the colour palette he adopts is standard. In Guercino's painting St. Peter Martyr is placed in the forefront of the painting, a sword literally carved into his head. Guercino uses the same colour scheme adopted by Domenichino for the monk's robes and the executioner. However, it is the manner in which Domenichino and Guercino handle the subject matter that is so different. Guercino's saint kneels at the very front of the picture plane. To some degree Domenichino's rendering more fully expresses the horror of the scene: his own version is perhaps a closer critique of the original altar-piece by Titian than even Annibale's. There is a greater sense of naturalism, particularly in the rendering of the landscape and the figures. The facial features are rendered with greater detail. The sense of panic and fear is real, thus the viewer is caught up by the emotive experience of the scene. In Annibale's painting the eyes are bathed in shadow and there seems to be little emotion. However, Domenichino portrays St Peter Martyr, and his fleeing companion, as real and tangible people. Domenichino has also carefully observed the correct style of hair cut as worn by the Dominicans at the time. This development of portraying saints in a more realistic manner finds its roots in post-Tridentine rhetoric from which Bishop Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* is important evidence. As has been shown, Annibale's copy of Titian's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr became a focal point for the Carracci's students in particular Domenichino and Guercino. In each case, Domenichino and Guercino draw upon different emotional responses. Both offer their own critiques upon Titian and Annibale, adding greater weight to the iconographical imagery.

Annibale: The Influence of Tintoretto and Veronese

Whilst in Venice, Annibale and Agostino went to look at the works of Tintoretto and Veronese.[59] In particular, they studied the naturalistic effects of their *chiaroscuro*, through the contrasts of strong darks and bright lights. The Carracci must have known of Tintoretto's The Visitation (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), which originally hung in the church of St Peter Martyr, and first appeared in Bologna during the second part of the sixteenth century (plate 17). Annibale was interested in the way that Tintoretto and Veronese constructed tonal relationships in their works so that the viewer was aware of the relationship of one colour to the next. Tintoretto and Veronese were pre-eminent in the way that they, like Correggio were able to harmonise their colours through a balance of hue and tone and the action of reflected light.

The blue hood of the male figure on the right of the Visitation and the blue of the Virgin's robes are picked up in the landscape behind, but is not with the same intensity. The use of *cangiantismo*-type effects, and oscillation of light on the fabrics, (in particular the robes of the male figure on the right) is something that Annibale adopts in his Crucifixion with Saints of 1583. It is however, the way in which Tintoretto adds touches of cream in the background, which suggests the shimmering effects of light passing over the landscape.

What Annibale learnt from Veronese and Tintoretto was how the effects of brightness of colour and the harmonising effects of light or *luminare* worked. Only by understanding *chiaro e scuro* and colour values working up and down the scale, could Annibale grasp the importance of Veronese's and Tintoretto's paintings along with their use of illuminated lights and shadows. However, Veronese limited himself by working from pure hues and adding unnatural colours in the shadows. C*hiaroscuro* has a dual nature: on one hand it is a system operating in the absence of colour, and on the other hand, it works on a scale from black to white. Colours can partially operate in terms of

chiaroscuro as the darker hues of the *scuro* range move through to the lighter *chiaro* range. Therefore, system working purely from black to white is more dependent on *disegno* than *colore*. Perhaps this is why the Carracci were so interested in drawing and print-making. Agostino's ability to translate, through the burin line, such delicate modulations of *chiaroscuro* can clearly be seen as a development stemming from Cort and Golzius.[60]

Agostino's Print Technique: Creating Colour in Black and White

Agostino's own attempts show that he quickly mastered the techniques of rendering colouristic effects through the medium of print-making by the late 1570s. It is possible that Agostino's visit to Padua and Venice in June 1580 was premeditated. Venice was one of the most important Italian centres of printing and was well known for its print market. It would be plausible to suggest that Agostino went to assimilate as much information concerning printing techniques. He and Annibale obviously copied a number of works of art, as is attested by Annibale's version of Titian's The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr. Probably Agostino made the preparatory sketches for The Martyrdom of Saint Guistina of Padua, by Veronese, during his visit to Padua. The print is made up of two plates joined together and is one of the largest made by Agostino, measuring 45.1+59.2 cm. The production of such a large scale print was time consuming and, if Agostino was in Venice in June 1580, the print took him two years to complete. The Martyrdom of Saint Guistina of Padua (plate 18), shows completely the nature of Agostino's attempts to translate colour by modulating lines in density and form. By using minimal or heavy cross-hatching, small dots and minute marks, Agostino is able to create very sophisticated *chiaroscuro* effects. The burin line swells and tapers as Agostino moves the plate. This very action, like that of a paint brush being drawn upon the canvas, reflects the oscillation of cloth, the roundness of figures, the

softness of clouds and hardness of stone. Here again the definition of form is exemplified by the careful gradation of the swelling and tapering of the lines. The finesse of Agostino's handling of the burin also shows his mastery in conveying *sfumato*-like effects. If one looks at the lute-playing angels on the left hand side of the print, it is possible to see how Agostino creates this delicacy of modulation. The plate is moved in a circular motion, creating the basic outlines. Agostino then moves it vertically using the same circular motion. In doing so, he creates this flowing, rotating movement. The swelling and tapering of the lines also suggests the ethereal-like quality of the clouds. The use of cross hatching in small areas further adds to the suggestion of shadows and modelling. The hand of the angel below the two lute playing figures shows that Agostino has used a system of modulating lines, which are graduated in size, from the darkest area through to light. [61]

Annibale's Observations on the Art of Barocci: A New Mode of Painting

A third painter, after Correggio and Titian, whose importance has long been recognised as a catalyst for the Carracci's art is Frederico Barocci. In 1579 Barocci unveiled his painting of the *Madonna del Popolo* in the chapel of the Pia Confraternità dei Laici di S. Maria di Misericordia in Arrezzo.[62] It is not known if the Carracci cousins went to see the painting. However, they may well have assimilated something of Barocci's style from contemporary painters in Bologna and Florence, such as Cigoli, Francesco Vanni, and Ventura Salimbeni. Vanni for instance was an old friend of Ludovico Carracci and a visitor to the Carracci *Accademia*. It may have been through Vanni especially that the Carracci came to learn about Barocci. Annibale may have known of Barocci's *Madonna del Popolo* and the Deposition in Perugia. Without such knowledge, it is likely that Annibale would not have been able to assimilate a new mode of colour. Barocci used a technique in which he created mid-value range of gray, a

mixture of blue and red giving a purplish tinge at the mid point of the composition working his way towards the light areas of rose, yellow and greens. All of the colours in the *scuro*[63] range are controlled by yellow, which effectively dampens the darker hues of the *chiaro* range, particularly the reds which acquire a rose-like tinge. An example of this of this appears in the Virgin's tunic in The Madonna of the Cat in the National Gallery in London (plate 19). The colours of the darker end of the scale, blues browns and red are controlled by the red hue, thus the effects of *chiaroscuro* do not come into play. Lines are undefined since the modulation of tone is so subtle that the distinction is blurred and the edges simply do not occur. This technique is derived ultimately from Leonardo. The debt owed to Leonardo by Barocci, and later the Carracci and Domenichino, is important, particularly Leonardo's theoretical understanding of colour, which will be demonstrated further on down the page.

Extraordinary *cangiantsimo*-like effects can clearly be seen in Annibale's Baptism of Christ (plate 20) in San Gregorio in Bologna. Saturated violets, vermilions, rose and golds, are all the hallmarks of the Baroccesque palette, particularly the mid value-toned application of these colours, around the figure of God the Father.[64] This painting seems to be an exercise in colour, light and shadow. We see a unified tonal balance across the top of the picture plane. Annibale uses a pale grey and pink ground, which may be a mixture of chalk or white-lead with charcoal and minimum, red lead or mercuric sulphide. The same pink and grey can be seen in the robe of the lute-playing angel in the forefront of the painting. Again this combination of colours is used in the cloak of God the Father and in the cloud formations. Annibale uses the same system of *imprimetura*[65] of mid-valued tones built up over the ground. The controlling tone is grey in a mixture of lead-white and/or chalk with mercuric sulphide, vermilion or minimum, (red lead), to create pink, and grey-yellow, derived from lamp black and lead-white and yellow lake. The overall light, which is predominantly yellow, emanating from the figure of God, floods the heavenly vision. Colours are not seen at their fullest intensity.

Annibale balanced colours of the same intensity so that no single colour dominates. Each hue is controlled by the yellow light, thus neutralising the effects of the brightest hues and bringing the darker hues up from the *scuro* range. This is evident in the green robe of the flute-playing angel on the viewer's left, which is shot with yellow. This understanding of colour relations and harmonics could only have come from direct experience of Correggio and Barocci's paintings as well his own observations, which Annibale passed on to Domenichino.

Another new and important aspect of Domenichino's painting was the rationalisation of light as the force for creating a unified structure. Like Annibale, Domenichino observed the need to balance hues and tones within the confines of *chiaroscuro*. In his own works, Annibale reduced the use of exaggerated highlights and shadows, favoured by many mannerist painters, by balancing complimentary and opposing colours with each other, through the unifying effects of light and shadow.

This is evident when looking at the red robes of Christ and St. John the Baptist in The Baptism of Christ and comparing them with the robes of the violin-playing angel. The red robe of the angel is tinged with yellow, which emanates from the figure of God, and from the natural sun light which is directed from the left. Since Christ and John the Baptist are not cast in pure sun light, their robes do not take on a yellow tinge and are seen in half light. Since the red is seen at its fullest point of saturation, it is able to maintain something of its original intensity within the *chiaroscuro* range.

While it is clear that Annibale had a full understanding of Correggio prior to his observation of Barocci's art, Annibale's vision of Correggio came to be revised given his work on Barocci. It is possible that in supervening upon his understanding of Correggio, Barocci enhanced Annibale's understanding of colour balance, composition and formal structure. The correlation's between Annibale's palette in The Baptism of Christ and Correggio's Assumption of the Virgin in the Duomo in Parma are fairly evident. The same colour value system is at play, in which the mid-value tones of pale

yellow, orange and pinks dominate. In this, Annibale can be seen to be well aware of using the natural sun-light to create an overall balance of hues and tones.

Leonardo's Legacy and the Codex Urbinas

Barocci and Annibale's revaluation of the effects of light and shadow finds their roots in the practical and theoretical studies of Leonardo. In the Madonna of the Rocks (plate 21) in the National Gallery in London, Leonardo uses infinite modulations of tone, so much so that there seem to be no pure hues. Each colour is diminished within the scale from *chiaro* (which he identified with white) through to the *scuro* range of black. He then seems to have sacrificed real and inherent colours to create balanced *chiaroscuro*-type effects, which were mediated by his need to produce the same results in the foreground as well as the background. Colours are muted and built up using fine washes, not dissimilar to the technique used in water colour painting. The colours used in the robe of the angel are almost indistinguishable from each other. They are not seen at their full intensity or saturation. The modulation of the blue, browns and greens is created within a narrow tonal range, mediated by the effects of *chiaroscuro*.[66] Leonardo's use of *chiaroscuro* is extremely sophisticated; he is able to render his forms as fully plastic, without the aid of colour. Thus, through careful modulations of *chiaroscuro*, Leonardo was able to create colour-like effects.

The issue of whether the Carracci were conversant with Leonardo's treatise on painting, is problematic.[67] Printed versions of the Codex Urbinas circulated throughout Italy in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[68] Did the Carracci have access to one of these manuscripts and if so what did they glean from it? Both Martin Kemp and Rosemary Muir Wright have suggested that it was unlikely that the Carracci had direct access to the original manuscript, but may have known of one of the edited versions.[69]

Undoubtedly they had a knowledge of Leonardo's theories, even if this was only assimilated through the paintings of Correggio and Barocci.

Andrea del Sarto

Barocci's own painting style was indebted to Andrea del Sarto, a follower of Leonardo. Through careful gradation of hue del Sarto was able to create divided tones which were related in value. This can be seen in del Sarto's Assumption of the Virgin (plate 22) in the Palazzo Pitti in which the controlling hues of red, grey-brown and green dominate. Del Sarto then splits the hues into rose tones, greens and yellow which dominate the foreground of the painting. This can be seen in the left hand figure at the foreground. The robe of the man is yellow at its fullest point of saturation. The shadows are cast in burnt orange and the shadows are washed over the yellow in broad strokes, the paint literally dragged over the surface. The man kneeling at the very front of the picture is bathed in white light. His cloak is pink, but the shadows are orange-red in tone. This same tone is picked up in the red cloak of the man standing on the steps. The highlights are tinged with yellow, the shadows are a darker tone of the same red, moving through to a burgundy-purple tone in the darkest areas. The green robe of the man on the far right is painted in *chiaroscuro*. The highlights are in light green through the addition of yellow, but the shadows are modulated by adding black. By understanding del Sarto's use of colour, Barocci was able to juggle strong saturated hues working with or against each other to form the bouncing effects of his colours. Annibale adapted this technique by keying hues of the same value together, but it is his use of light and the effects of *chiaroscuro* which are so important, and was something which Domenichino was unsuccessful in trying to emulate.

Annibale: The Practical Effects of *Colore* and *Chiaroscuro* and Colour Harmonisation

What Annibale discovered through his studies on Leonardo, Correggio, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Barocci and del Sarto is that pure hues lie "exactly midway between the *chiaro* and *scuro* range" and through lightening or darkening of colours, one created the effects of half tones and quarter tones of that hue.[70] This theoretical concern for darkening and lightening hues by darkening colours in the shadows and adding highlights was widely understood and practised in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Raphael and Francia were using this system. Like the Carracci, Domenichino, Reni, Guercino, Lanfranco and Albani and their contemporaries were all well acquainted with Raphael's St. Cecilia (plate 23) along with Perugino's Virgin with Saints (now in the Pinacoteca in Bologna) which hung in the opposite chapel of St. Michael the Archangel; Lorenzo Costa's Madonna Enthroned with Sts. Augustine, Posidonius, John and Francis and Francia's *Noli Me Tangere* in San Giovanni in Monte in Bologna.[71] Nevertheless, these works are not *chiaroscuro* paintings. The use of pure hues with little use of highlights and shadow is evident. Unimpeded by Leonardo's analysis of *chiaroscuro* affects and divided tones, these works are important because through them Annibale saw the possibility of assimilating a clearer knowledge of pure colour and hue. It is with the experience of Titian and Correggio that the Carracci learned the effects of employing high or low intensity of colour, both in the foreground and in the distance, within a *chiaroscuro* system. Annibale used a system of exact repetition of hue from the foreground into the middle ground figures. Dempsey pointed out that in Christ and the Samarian Woman (plate 24), Annibale's response was to balance each hue in relation to the light regardless at what depth it is positioned.[72] Janis Bell however refutes this argument, stating:

> Dempsey misinterpreted Annibale's attitude toward colour perspective when he associated colour perspective with Mannerism and saw Annibale's naturalism as a negation of it. . .There is a subtle degradation of colour, in which the second, more distant appearance of a hue repeats in intermediate

> tones, leaving the strongest lights and strongest shadows in the foreground.[73]

Bell appears to be correct in the respect that Annibale's gradation of colour is meditated by a subtle change of hue and tone due to the lessening of light. However, Annibale adds highlights in white or yellow (as seen in the robes of Joseph and the figure behind him) which has the effect of drawing the tone up from the mid or background and balancing it with the pure hues in the foreground. This is also evident in the robes of the Virgin, which echo the same tone of blue as the mountains, as well as the pale blue of the trees behind the castle.

Annibale came to the conclusion that colour harmonisation relies on a specific knowledge of how each colour will effect, and is related, to the one next to it. When two colours of the same strength of hue are placed next to each other, they become less strong. Therefore, each colour will be kept in check so that no one colour jumps forwards or sinks backwards. Both colours are usually reflected upon each other. Through the illusion of perspective, the eye is deceived and can no longer distinguish between colours in the foreground as being of the same intensity of hue as those in the middle or background.

Annibale's Landscape Paintings and Effect Upon Domenichino

Domenichino noted that Annibale often used this technique in his own landscapes. Whether this is something that Annibale observed personally or understood from Leonardo's views on aerial perspective, by looking at Correggio and Barocci, is unknown. Leonardo saw that colours weakened at various stages due to the atmospheric conditions. In strong light, colours retained something of their original hue, but in weak light the hue would naturally change and become weaker. For Annibale the theoretical principles of accurate colour placement of matching hues was related to Leonardo's own theories of colour relations and aerial perspective.

However, to understand Annibale's sense of colour/aerial perspective it is important to try and place it in the context of the hour and time of day. The vast majority of the Carracci's paintings are set either at day break or in the early evening, and thus never in full light. Colours in the forefront would naturally seem to exhibit a greater intensity of hue and tone than those in the mid-ground or distance, due to the lessening of light. It is likely that Bell is correct when she states that the Carracci were obviously taking their precedence from Dutch and Flemish landscape painting.[74]

It must also be pointed out that the traditions of Venetian landscape painting were important in reforming the Carracci's own style. Titian's use of high and low level lights, and balance of hues and tones, is evident in Bacchus and Ariadne (plate 25) in his use of the same hue of blue both in the forefront of the painting, particularly in Bacchus' cloak, and in the distant mountains and sky. Judging by the number of works which exist, Annibale, like his brother Agostino and his cousin Ludovico, regularly went out into the landscape to make drawings. In the majority of the paintings and drawings by Annibale, scenes of "luxuriant vegetation," broken tree stumps, lakes and fishermen as well as reclining figures can be seen. As in the Landscape with the Flight into Egypt (private collection, London ca. 1602-3) and Venus at her Toilet (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna). Annibale was interested in creating the impression of outdoor space and natural atmosphere. In his Landscape with Fishermen (Louvre, Paris) (plate 26) ca. 1580, Annibale creates an illusory sense of space. The landscape is divided into separate receding units. The use of light and shadow is carefully worked out, punctuating certain points in the scene. It was this interest in effects of creating an atmosphere of light and airiness that Domenichino adopted from Annibale. During the first few years in Rome, Domenichino did a series of landscape paintings which emulate Annibale's style. Domenichino is recorded to have assisted Annibale on a number of landscapes, in particular, Landscape with the Flight into Egypt, ca. 1604-6 (plate 27) in the Galleria Doria-Pamphilj in Rome. Two landscapes on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland

which have been re-attributed to Domenichino by Mahon, were originally thought to be by Annibale. The two landscapes with fishermen and musicians in the National Gallery of Scotland show to what extent Domenichino was able to master Annibale's techniques and imitate his style. Domenichino's early style and technique is heavily indebted to Annibale. The use of muted hues and tones of brown and green in the foreground of Domenichino's early landscapes, moving through to half tones in the mid-ground and finally quarter tones in the distant horizon, are trademarks of Annibale's aerial perspective.

In this chapter the foundations of Domenichino's education, firstly in the *Scuola di Grammatica*, and later in the Carracci *Accademia* have been discussed. The aim was to show how the Carracci's own travels and experiences in turn, became part of the educational agenda for instructing their students. Having focused on this issue, the study went on to look at the Carracci's reformation of painting and in particular, Annibale's colourism. The intention in looking at Annibale was to suggest that by assimilating certain elements from different artistic sources, he came to a new understanding of balancing hue and tone within terms of light and shade, creating a greater naturalistic aesthetic. Moreover, this suggests that Annibale was trying to unify each of the four modal systems of colouring, and in so doing create a new mode of painting that was grounded in a study of nature. This suggests that Domenichino, as the heir to Annibale, took on certain aspects of his colour practices and techniques which he further developed, changing his manner and mode of painting in the light of the Roman experience.

[1] See Spear, Domenichino, 1982, p. 7, and Dempsey "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna During the Later Sixteenth Century," Art Bulletin, December, 1980, Vol. LXII, no. 4, 1980, pp. 552-69. Also see H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1936.
[2] Bellori, 1672, pp. 290-91.
[3] Passeri, ed. 1934, pp. 20-21.
[4] Baglione, 1642, p. 381.
[5] Malvasia, ed. 1841. I, pp. 198-99.
[6] Dempsey, Art Bulletin, 1980, p. 561.
[7] Domenichino willed the majority of his library to his pupil and friend Raspantino. The inventory (in the Archivo di Stato in Rome, *Notio Olimpiade Petrucci Ufficio* 6, 1664, part 2a, vol. 5943, folios 23-76, 4th April, 1664), of his possessions is interesting reading, because it has revealed a great deal about Domenichino's drawings, and library. However, it would be injudicious to try to ascribe which books Domenichino willed to Raspantino. Books dated after 1641 can obviously be discounted. See Spear, 1982, p. 26. See appendix 1, pp. 340-343.
[8] *Ad Herrenium*.
[9] *De Oratore* and *Inventione*.
[10] For the most important text studied in the period see Nichomachas of Derasa's Introduction to Arithmetic, which laid the foundations for the majority of all other mathematical treatise in the 16th century. See Chadwick, Boethius, The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy, 1981, pp. 70-101.
[11] Francesco Cesareo mentions in his article, Quest for Identity: The Ideals of Jesuit Education in the Sixteenth Century, "The era of Saint Ignatius was the age of the humanist schools of the Renaissance. The Latin schools (*Scuola di Grammatica*) and vernacular schools (*Scuola Leggere e Scrivere*) that emerged sought to teach practical skills. The former taught the Latin that allowed students to advance to university studies in preparation for careers in the civil service or the church. Those who attended the vernacular schools were taught skills necessary in commerce." The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions, ed. Christopher Chapple, University of Scranton Press, 1993, p. 17. Cesaro mentions that the Jesuits had to work hard to attract pupils to their schools and were often in competition with the *Scuola di Grammatica.*
[12] It is documented by Bellori and Malvasia that Domenichino's elder brother Gabrielle was not of the same intellectual calibre as his younger sibling. If this was the case, as both Domenichino's biographers suggest, Gabrielle entered his father's business to help with the family concern after leaving the *Scuola di Leggere e Scrivere* and was not sent on to the *Scuola di Grammatica.*
[13] Baglione, 1642, p. 381.
[14] Bellori, 1672, p. 290-291.
[15] On the teaching methods employed in Calvaert's studio, see Malvasia, ed. 1841, I, pp. 198-99, also see Baglione, 1642, p. 381.
[16] Goldstein introduces a number of texts including Odorado Fialetti's *Il vero modo et ordine per tutte le parti et membera del corpo humano*, published in Venice in 1608, 1988, pp.47-48.
[17] See Malvasia ed. 1841, I, p.199, II, p. 220, and Bellori, 1672, pp. 290-91.
[18] Passeri comments that Domenichino had in fact obtained a print by Agostino Carracci and was making copies from it. Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 22.
[19] Baglione is the first of Domenichino's biographers to mention that he clearly showed an interest in the Carracci's "*Accademia degli Incamminati*" first known as the "*Accademia degli Desiderosi.*"1642, p. 381, Bellori, 1672, pp. 290-91, and Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 220.
[20] Dempsey has pointed out that the Carracci were members of the *Accademia degli Indifferenti*, and attended drawing sessions. Dempsey, 1977, p. 46.

[21] Malvasia, ed. 1841, I, p. 276. "*Agostino ed Annibale di suo consenso anzi consiglio, nella sua stanza fondarono e aprirono un' accademia . . ..*" Malvasia also mentions that Giovanni Paolo Bonconti upon entering the "*Accademia*" paid for a statue of the Madonna, the "*impresa*," benches and other necessities. Bellori also cites this, mentioning the "*Accademia*" was established soon after Agostino's return from Venice in 1582, Bellori, p. 117.

[22] Dempsey, 1977, p. 17.

[23] For Agostino's role in the academy, see Chapter Four, sub heading Domenichino's Musical education below.

[24] The *Accademia del Disegno* was formally established in Florence on the 31st of January 1563. It's patron was Duke Cosimo de'Medici, with Michelangelo acting as *capi* (honorary president). Cosimo was also patron of the *Accademia Fiorentina*, which was devoted to linguistic questions.

[25] R. Alberti, *Origine e progresso dell' Accademia del Disegno de Pittori Scultori & Architetti di Roma*, Rome, 1604. I, p. 3. "*un studio e Accademia del Disegno, in aiuto e indirezzo de' giovani studiosi, che nelle nobilissime professioni del Disegno vogliono studiare Pittura, scultura e Architecttura.*"

[26] Dempsey, Art Bulletin, 1980, p. 556.

[27] *Incamminati* finds its roots in *incamminare*, to start up, to get going. The term can also be used to suggest teaching or training. This would make sense in relation to the actual artistic training and teaching which the Carracci's students received.

[28] For a reading on the terms on the *Accademia dei Desiderosi* and *degli Incamminati*, see Dempsey, 1977, pp. 48-49.

[29] Ercole Procaccini was the father of Camillo Procaccini. Both artists were well known and respected painters with their own work shops in Bologna. Ercole is known to have worked in the Carraccis' *Accademia degli Desiderosi* during 1583.

[30] Malvasia mentions that young artists and "*molti di qui' Signori, e diversi altri forestieri, che per l'occasione dello studio cola si trovavano . . .*" met at the academy. The enthusiasm of the academy seems to have been infectious and a steady stream of laymen came to see for themselves and try their hand: "*Et era cosi efficace il lume, che apportava il veder operare que' Maestri: e cosi ben fondata era la manera gia introdotta; che oltre alli molti allievi professori, che diventarono valorossimi soggetti, vi furono ancora non pochi di qui, Gentilhomini, e Cavalieri, che per sola delettatione si resero ati a far delle cose degne di esser vedute, e stimate da coloro, che maggiomente le conoscono.*" Malvasia, ed. 1841, I.

[31] Dempsey, 1977, pp. 45-46.

[32] Malvasia, ed. 1841, I, p. 184. (To raise the name of the company and to change it to *Accademia* and to be joined to *San Luca*). "*Di levargli il nome di Compagnia di cambiarglielo in quello di Accademia e farla aggregare a quella cola di San Luca.*" Also see Dempsey, 1980, pp. 256-69.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Dempsey, 1980, pp. 558-9.

[35] Maniates, Manchester University Press, 1979, p. 5

[36] The Carracci's pointed dislike of Vasari was manifest through Annibale's marginalised notes in a copy of the *Vite*, which they presumably owned. Vasari was in Bologna in 1530 where he witnessed the coronation of Charles V on the 24th February. He returned to Bologna in 1539 where he complained that the artists of Bologna lacked sophistication. It was during this visit that Vasari was commissioned to paint The Last Supper of St. Gregorio Magno for the rectory of San Michele in Bosco. Annibale's notes imply that Vasari's *Vite* was full of "lies, this is all lies." Annibale disliked Vasari's views that Michelangelo's art was pre-eminent and surpassed his contemporaries, particularly Titian and Raphael. Also see Fanti, Il Carrobbio, 5, 1979, pp. 148-64 and Il Corrobbio, 6, 1980, pp. 136-41. Also see Goldstein, 1988, pp. 164-165

[37] Cavalli *Mostra*, p. 76ff, 1958.

[38] Dempsey, 1977, p. 11.

[39] Mahon, questioned to what degree the Carracci were eclectic in their assimilation of visual material. He argued that their "reformation of painting" was as much a natural synthesis of artistic generation, taking on board aspects of a certain style or technique and thus encapsulating elements from each school or artist. He however, pointed out that Agucchi, Bellori and Malvasia saw the reformation was based on a "protagonist polemic on behalf of a minority preserving a legitimist descent," which was biased and tainted in favour of a specific art historical viewpoint, in which the Carracci were seen as the heirs of an artistic tradition which stemmed from and was born out of a classical tradition. Mahon's viewpoint, is

that, it was probably in hindsight that the Carracci's biographers may have purposely championed their cause, but, the fundamental question must be asked, if like Ludovico, Annibale and Agostino, were purposely sent to study the art of past masters, to what degree can their "reformation of painting" be seen as an attempt to further artistic practices without pin-pointing certain teleological developments which invariably are part of a natural progression in artistic style and technique. It has been argued by many modern critics that Mahon placed to much emphasis and weight has been laid upon the Carracci, that there "reformation of painting" was motivated by a desire purely to reform art, and that they were the only artists responding to a larger and much more widespread trend of thought, which was invariably part of the general ethos of the times. See Mahon, 1947, pp. 195-229. Also see Discovering the Italian Baroque: The Denis Mahon Collection, 1997, pp. 8-21.

[40] The two letters are quoted by Malvasia, ed. 1841, I, pp. 268-70.

[41] ibid "*Nonpotei stare di non andare subito a vedere la gran cupola, che voi tante voltemi avete comendato, ed ancora io rimasi stupefatto, vedere una cosi gran macchina, cosi ben intesa ogni cosa cosi ben veduta di sotto in su con si gran rigore, ma sempre con tanto guidizio e con tanta grazia, con un colorito, ch'e di vera carne. . .abbita pur pasienza l'istesso vostro Parmigianino, perche conosco adesso aver di questo grand' uomo tolto ad imitare tutta la grazia, vi e pur tanto lontano, perche i puttini del Correggio spirano, vovono e ridono con una grazia e verita, che bisonga che venga, che vedra cose, che non l'avrebbe mai creduto. . .*."

[42] British Museum, London, Inventory no. 1895-9-15-724.

[43] One of the major problems which has beset modern scholars has been in trying to distinguish between Agostino, Annibale and Ludovico's early drawings, which are not directly related to commissioned works. This would suggest that the Carracci created a "school style" of drawing, as will be discussed in Chapter Three.

[44] The Farnese collection was transferred to Naples at the end of the 17th century after the death of the last Duke of Parma and Picenza, Odorado Farnese II. The collection passed into the hands of the Spanish Royal Family, who were the direct heirs.

[45] ibid ". . .*dice che prendera da me ancora tutte le teste che copiero dalla cupola, e altre ancora di privati, che mi procurera del Correggio per copiarle. . .*." Annibale is referring to Andrea Casalino, who purchased the paintings.

[46] Gesso was usually made from calcium sulphate which was derived from dehydrate gypsum. Annibale may well have used a burned gesso, which produces a slightly cream ground, which was favoured by the Venetians in the mid to late sixteenth century. Annibale may also have used a chalk ground to dampen the colours, a technique which was commonly used in the late sixteenth century in Northern Italy and which Domenichino, Albani, Reni and Guercino all adopted in their oil paintings. See Arie Wallert, "Technical Examinations of Titian's Venus and Adonis: A Note on Early Italian Oil Painting Technique," in Historical Painting techniques, Materials and Studio Practice, University of Leiden, The Netherlands, June 1995, pp. 117-126.

[47] Domenichino is known to have adopted this technique of using chalk grounds and dustings of white highlights, as can be seen on the robes of the celebrant holding the chalice in The Last Rites of St Jerome. Domenichino uses a dense burnt orange/red *impasto*-type layer of paint upon the chalk ground in the shadows. On top of this he added a heavy layer of red, which is now evident through the cracked surface of the painting. However, in the areas highlighted, he adds a thick orange and cream wash, which is stippled with a white, accentuating the brocade fabric. It is evident that Domenichino drew upon Annibale's practical techniques, something he learnt within the Carracci workshop, and later used in Rome, whilst working on the Palazzo Farnese frescoes.

[48] See Leonardo on Painting, ed. Martin Kemp, 1989, pp. 91-93. "Rule for putting the proper shadows and proper lights on a figure or faceted body."

[49] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 221, and Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 292.

[50] Domenichino was probably familiar with this copy by Annibale, as was Malvasia, ed. 1841, I, p. 270. Also see, Spear, 1982, pp. 222-224.

[51] See Malvasia, 1678, I, pp. 367-68. Malvasia relates a number of anecdotal points particularly the meeting between Tintoretto and the Carracci during this visit. Malvasia says that the Carracci were astounded by Tintoretto's manner towards them, when they asked if he was Tintoretto, he said "yes" and shut the door in their faces. Also see Boschloo, 1974, pp. 9-11, Posner 1971, pp. 44-52.

[52] Titian 1. The Religious Paintings, Phaidon, 1969, pp. 153-55. Titian's work was destroyed by fire in 1867.

[53] From the chemical analysis it has been suggested that Annibale used lapis lazuli which was widely adopted in Lombardy, because it gave a rich blue which was stable when mixed with oil. Titian was probably using a mixture of cobalt, potassium and arsenic, which would suggest that smalt (an artificial pigment), made from potassium-rich glass deeply pigmented with cobalt oxide and ground to a fine powder.

[54] Titian 1. The Religious Paintings, Phaidon, 1969, pp. 153-155.

[55] This red orange hue is derived from a mixture of mercuric sulphide and lead tin yellow: or realgar derived from arsenic: vermilion: or minimum, a red-orange lead pigment. Red lead or minimum is produced from burning lead white or lead black. It produces a fine textured pigment, which is stable when mixed with oils, and has excellent opaque qualities. It is however, very poisonous and was not often used by artists in the sixteenth century.

[56] Green pigment could be derived from a number of pigments. Malachite gave a rich dark green and is stable in oil. Verdigris, is composed from copper resinate. It is made by soaking the copper acetate in vinegar, which then crystallises and can be ground with oil. Verdigris is however, prone to discoloration as it oxidises easily and turns brown on the surface of the painting. If a varnish is applied to the pigment it does however, retain a strong green colour and remains well preserved.

[57] Malvasia mentions that Annibale sent his students to study his copy of The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr. Malvasia, ed. 1841, I, p. 270.

[58] The actual date of the commission is still debated. Borea has postulated that it dates from 1623-7. Spear however questions this, suggesting that it was painted between 1619-21. Spear's reasoning is the painting shows greater affinity with Domenichino's *Madonna del Rosario* commissioned in 1617, in particular the barren landscape and the heads of the two Dominicans next to the Pope. The putti are also more in keeping with those painted in Domenichino's Last Communion of St. Jerome commissioned in 1614. The reason for supporting Spear's date is due to the nature of Domenichino's handling of *chiaroscuro* and the effects of *luminare* and shadows before 1623 and his contact with Matteo Zaccolini. In Domenichino's Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr the shadows are still block-like, with little gradation and do not seem to aid in creating a sense of space. It is to this degree that Spear's attribution is supported.

[59] Annibale cites in his letter of the 28th of April 1580, that, ". . .along with Titziano and until I go to see his works in Venice I will not die happy." Agostino also writes from Venice (although this letter is undated) that, "As for Annibale nothing could have been better than to have him come immediately from Parma here to Venice, because seeing so many immense works of so many great men he remained amazed and said he expected great things from this region but that he would never have imagined so much, and he says now he recognises himself a clod who doesn't know anything." This letter is quoted by Malvasia, ed. 1841, pp. 268-70.

[60] See Bohlin, Prints and Drawings by the Carracci Family, 1979, in particular pp. 204-205.

[61] ibid. For further reading on the development of the Carracci's technique, see p. 32. Also see pp. 204-206 for further information on The Martyrdom of Saint Guistina of Padua.

[62] The painting was something of a *cause celebre* and greatly admired by the Florentine painter's Gregorio Pagni, Passiginano, Ventura Salimbeni Francesco Vanni and Cigoli, along with many other artists who saw it. Dempsey mentions that Cigoli and Gregorio Pagni were both so impressed with the painting that they went to Perugia to look at the Deposition, along with Passignano. Vanni and Salimbeni also went to see these paintings and in so doing changed their own manner of painting in response to Barocci. 1977, pp. 16-17. Agostino also did a number of engravings after Vanni, in particular St. Francis Consoled by a Musical Angel, printed in 1595 and St Jerome of the same year. See de Grazia Bohlin, 1979, pp. 329-331.

[63] *Chiaroscuro*, a system of drawing or painting working from light to shade, see the Collins Sansoni Italian Dictionary, 1988.

[64] Annibale surely borrows the same figural pose for God the father from Agostino's Study for the Confraternity of the Name of God. The print was engraved in the same year of 1582. De Grazia Bohlin, 1979, p. 194.

[65] A system of using a continuous wash or film of colour applied over the white ground.

[66] Farago, Art Bulletin, LXXIII, March, 1991, pp. 62-88.

[67] Gary Walters suggests that the codex was brought to Urbino during the 1570's and was held in the library of the Duke. Frederico Barrocci: *Anima Naturaliter*, 1978, pp. 44-45.

[68] For a brief history of the codex and translation see Leonardo on Painting. An Anthology of writings by Leonardo da Vinci with a selection of documents relating to his career as an artist, ed. Martin Kemp.

Selected and translated by Martin Kemp and Margret Walker, 1989. Also see Pedretti's Commentary published in 1977, for a fuller account on the treatise.

[69] Carlo Pedretti, points out that the Duke of Urbino's library was transferred from Castel Durante to Urbino in 1631. It was only until 1640 that the Trattato was rediscovered and was then moved to the Vatican in 1657. Leonardo da Vinci on Painting, ed. Carlo Pedretti, 1965, p 5.

[70] ibid, p. 31.

[71] For a brief history on San Giovanni in Monte see, Connolly, 1994, Chapter V, pp. 111-112 and for a history on the commission see pp. 112-150.

[72] Dempsey, 1977, pp. 32-33.

[73] "Zaccolini's Theory of Color Perspective," Art Bulletin, 1993, p. 110.

[74] ibid, p. 111.

Chapter Two

Classical versus Baroque: Artistic Allies and Antagonists

This chapter focuses on Domenichino and his formative years in Rome and later, in Bologna from 1602 to 1612 and, in particular, looks at the development of his painting style under Annibale Carracci. The main area of discussion will be to prove that it was in Rome that Domenichino ultimately began to create his own distinctive artistic vocabulary; one which was based on a study of Roman High Renaissance art, and in particular Raphael. Domenichino's studies of Raphael brought about a change in the manner of his handling and harmonisation of colour, as well as *invenzione* and *affetti*. Within this study the writings of Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi will be considered. The aim is to lay out the ground to show to what extent Annibale and Domenichino's co-operation led to the writing of Agucchi's *Trattato della pittura*. It will be shown that Domenichino and Agucchi's interest in the texts of classical antiquity laid the foundations for their views on ideal beauty, as well as the relationship concerning the "modes of imitation" between painting, music and poetry. Attention will also focus on Lanfranco, a fellow student of the Carracci, who, was initially an ally of Domenichino's, but who became a sworn artistic and stylistic rival, and how their artistic styles come to diverge.

Domenichino and the Palazzo Farnese Frescoes

Bellori, Malvasia and Passeri all argue that Domenichino made his first visit to Rome in the spring of 1602 to assist Annibale with the fresco cycle in the Palazzo Farnese.[1] Bellori was the first author to claim that Domenichino was working in the Loggia del Giardino at the Palazzo Farnese in 1603-4.[2] The frescoes he painted there are some of the earliest documented works by Domenichino.[3] Cardinal Emilio Sfondrato, arranged for Domenichino to lodge with Albani and Reni in the monastery of Santa Prassede.[4] His assistance with the fresco cycle in the Farnese gallery determined his

early alliances and patronage in Rome, bringing him in contact with the Farnese, Aldobrandini and Agucchi families.

Annibale obviously allowed Domenichino to work independently on a number of frescoes, since there is overwhelming evidence to suggest that he painted Apollo and Hyasinthus, Narcissus, Perseus and Andromeda, the three Captives, The Virgin with a Unicorn, Diana and Callisto and Charity and Justice. These frescoes, which were originally designed by Annibale, rely on a harmonious combination of Venetian, Lombard, Tuscan and Roman colour ranges that Annibale had adopted, thus creating a unity of style and colour throughout the Palazzo. Annibale adopted a palette of mid-value hues and tones. This is evident when comparing Annibale's Venus and Anchises (plate 28) and Domenichino's The Virgin and the Unicorn (plate 29).[5] Annibale adopts a palette of strong orange and blues for the robes, which are contrasted against the monochromatic setting. Domenichino, however, uses a narrower palette of colours of greens, blue/greys and ochres which are not as rich in hue as Annibale's. Domenichino's colours are more block-like with little sense of modulation, and there is very little evidence of any cross hatching. In Venus and Anchises Annibale uses small burin or chalk-like lines and dots to create a greater sense of roundness to his forms. This is evident particularly around the knee of Anchises. Annibale creates subtle changes of light and shadow by thickening or thinning the hatched lines, although the actual brown pigment used to create the lines is uniformly strong.[6]

It was under Annibale's guidance that Domenichino began to explore a new artistic repertoire. Annibale introduced Domenichino to the works of Raphael and Michelangelo in the Vatican, as well as a number of major collections of classical sculpture and antiquities, such as those of the Farnese, Borghese, Medici and Aldrobrandini.[7] Domenichino began to draw upon the modes of Roman High Renaissance art, and also was exposed to the exemplars of the classical tradition from

which Raphael and Michelangelo, and later Annibale and Domenichino drew inspiration.[8]

Domenichino and Monsignor Agucchi

It may have been through one of Annibale's patrons, Francesco Poli, *Maestro di Cerimonie*, to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini that Domenichino was introduced to a future life-long friend, Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi.[9] During the initial stages of the fresco cycle in the Palazzo Farnese, Agucchi was invited by Cardinal Farnese, on the advice of his future brother-in law Cardinal Aldobrandini, to assist Annibale with the iconographical lay-out of the scenes.[10] Agucchi was a well known and respected member of the Roman *letterati*. It is well documented that he was in regular contact with many of the intellectual luminaries of his day, such as Galileo Galilei and the mathematician Luca Valiero and had a wide range of interests, including mathematics, mechanics, poetry, literature and history, as well as a great interest in art.[11]

Domenichino's contact with Agucchi had major consequences for his Roman success. Domenichino is known to have moved from Santa Prassede in 1603-4 and taken up residence with Cardinal Girolamo and Monsignor Agucchi.[12] Passeri learnt directly from Domenichino that his move was premeditated. Firstly, he was tired of Reni and Albani's incessant conversation and playing of cards whilst he was studying; and secondly, he and Agucchi shared a number of common interests, such as poetry, histories and literature.[13] It was during 1604 that Agucchi with the assistance of Annibale and Domenichino, began to write his *Trattato della pittura*. Bellori pointed out that Domenichino:

> Benefited from being introduced to Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi, who, because of his great interest in painting, was wont to expound on the beauties of poetry to him, observing poets and painters' means of representation. Agucchi keeping in touch with Domenichino on this study, proposed

> to compose a discourse on the various manners of painting.[14]

Therefore, it can be seen that Agucchi and Domenichino were already considering the relationship that could be brought to bear between literary and artistic forms and different modes of imitation. As we have seen, Domenichino was conversant with the texts of Plato, Aristotle and Horace, which had been introduced to him at the *Scuola di Grammatica* and later at the Carracci *Accademia*. Denis Mahon has pointed out that both Domenichino and Agucchi had a good knowledge of Aristotle's Poetics, one of the most important texts on modal imitation.[15] In his Poetics, Aristotle drew a direct comparison between the three modes of poetry, the "epic," the "tragic" and the "lyric" and how artists tried to interpret them:

> Epic poetry and Tragedy, as also Comedy, Dithyrambic poetry. . .are all, viewed as a whole, modes of imitation. . .Just as colour and form are used as means by some, who (whether by art or constant practice) imitate and portray many things by their aid. . .[16]

Domenichino and Agucchi developed Aristotle's views on the musical modes. Domenichino's studies of Aristotle's Poetics and Politics, led him to a new understanding of the modes of imitation and characterisation of music, and how they could be represented in his art. Aristotle writes:

> . . .even in mere melodies there is an imitation of character, for the musical modes differ essentially from one another, and those who hear them are differently affected by each. Some of them make men sad and grave, like the so-called Mixolydian, others enfeeble the mind, like the relaxed modes, another again, produces a moderate and settled temper, which appears to be peculiar effect of the Dorian; the Phrygian inspires enthusiasm.[17]

Domenichino was clearly conversant with Aristotle's views on the Grecian modal system. He also had a comprehensive knowledge of music theory (see Chapter Five).

Domenichino reflected qualities, which could be equated to both the poetical and musical modes.[18] Domenichino seems to have strived consciously to imitate in his paintings the ideals of beauty, correct proportion, harmonious colourism etc., which he and Agucchi found in classical literature, in much the same manner that his master Annibale drew inspiration from classical art and sculpture.[19]

Domenichino's Copies After Annibale

In 1602 and 1603 Domenichino made a number of copies of Annibale's paintings whilst assisting on the Palazzo Farnese fresco cycle. These included Susanna and the Elders and a Pietà (plate 30). Annibale's original Pietà (plate 31) hangs in the Louvre in Paris. It is more than likely that these copies were created as a means of perfecting his technique. They may also have been used as examples to demonstrate his ability to future patrons in the same way that Annibale had copied Titian's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr was used to prove that he had reached a level of artistic mastery and maturity to begin to take on personal commissions. In the Pietà Domenichino shows his ability in assimilating Annibale's style, both in his figural grouping and colourism. Annibale's Pietà, begun in 1602, remained unfinished until 1607. The work reveals some workshop intervention but, as Spear suggests, there is no evidence that Domenichino had a hand in its completion.[20] Although the two works show similarities, Domenichino replaced the figure of St Francis of Assisi with Joseph of Arimathea. It is likely that Domenichino begun painting his version after Annibale completed his painting. Domenichino adopts a similar palette of colours as Annibale for the robes of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin. Domenichino used fully saturated hues of bright yellow and orange/red for the Magdalene's gown and cloak, particularly in the areas flooded by light, following the same system as Annibale. If one looks closely at the edge of Annibale's Magdalene's brocade cloak, he used greater contrasts of burnt orange and white/yellow. Domenichino on the other hand handles the brocade fabric in a

different manner. His Magdalene's gown is shot and stippled with hints of blue in the shadows and highlights. This does not exhibit the same level of Annibale's sophisticated brush work. Domenichino's white highlights on top of the folds looks unnatural when viewed close to. Domenichino was still trying to achieve the level of Annibale's perfection for handling the effects of shimmering, mobile light.

Domenichino's oil paintings retain something of Annibale's rich saturated hues, but there is an increased understanding of the effects of natural light which becomes evident. In The Adoration of the Shepherds ca. 1607-8, (plate 32), after a lost original by Annibale, Domenichino reflects his mastery in imitating certain aspects of Annibale's style.[21] Bellori recorded that Annibale drew upon Correggio's *Notte* in the Basilica of St. Prospero in Reggio Emilia, in particular the use of the dramatic nocturnal lighting and glowing luminosity that emanates from the child. The Carracci, and subsequently their students regularly borrowed elements from Correggio's *Notte*, be it figural poses or observations of Correggio's colourism or his use of *illuminare*.

In contrast, in Domenichino's Christ Carrying the Cross (plate 33) ca. 1610, he floods the picture plane with white light. The red/pink and dark blue robes of Christ are washed with white, which turn the robe slate gray/blue. The figures are very hard edged and sculptural in quality. This distinction marks the difference between Domenichino and his master. In only a few instances do we see Annibale using bright saturated sun-light, for example in The Bean Eater, The Baptism of Christ and in The Dead Christ in the National Gallery in London.[22] Annibale tended to use softer edges and was less linear in style than Domenichino, who, in his early works rejected the use of *chiaroscuro* and *sfumato* of which one example is Christ Carrying the Cross. There are a number of possibilities as to why there was a change in direction and style in Domenichino's art, which will be discussed below.

Another marked difference between Annibale and Domenichino is the portrayal of emotion and the *affetti* in their Pietà's. In the Pietà in the National Gallery in London,

Annibale shows the Virgin and Mary Magdalene deeply distressed and weeping at the death of Christ (plate 34). By contrast, it can be seen that Domenichino changes the emotional balance from the "tragically bereaved" to more contemplative and sentimental expressiveness. Although he may have borrowed the subject from Annibale, his preparatory drawings show that he made conscious changes and also worked directly from models and nature. This is evident when Annibale's studies for the Pietà in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (inventory no W. 195-198a), are compared with Domenichino's drawings in the Louvre (B. 121-126). Annibale's handling of the chalk is softer, more and delicate. The drapery studies use a very fine cross hatching technique which is then rubbed, thus softening the edges. Domenichino's drawings, on the other hand, are more linear and brash and do not copy Annibale's *sfumato*.

Domenichino: A New Artistic Vocabulary

From 1604 onwards Domenichino began to create his own artistic vocabulary. Spear discusses how Domenichino evolved his manner of painting and colour, citing the fresco cycle of Grottaferrata (1608-1610), as the watershed in Domenichino's career.

> The Scenes from the Lives of Sts. Nilus and Bartholomew. . .are made up of fifty-seven figural compositions. . .St. Nilus curing the son of Polienuto is the most distinguished fresco in the group because of its exceptionally refined *affetti*, its distinctive union of low-saturated primary colors. . .and its effective staging of the *dramatis personae*. . .[23]

The major difference between Annibale and Domenichino lies in the way that Domenichino creates a new harmonisation of colour in his paintings, and in his use of a more restrained handling of the *affetti* and *invenzione*, something he may have observed from the paintings of Raphael, whom he much admired. Domenichino's desire to see Raphael's paintings and frescoes, particularly those of the Stanze in the Vatican, is clearly related by Bellori and Passeri.[24] Domenichino's interest in Raphael reveals

something of his own ideas about artistic style and practices. Domenichino and Agucchi's ideas on Raphael's art were subsequently codified in Bellori's writings. Bellori says that it was through:

> the action, expression, manners, colours and outlines of his numerous figures; he showed how to hold in the soul the forms of all the passions and in this way he was first to give life to them, conveying sensitivity in their perfect and natural forms; whence in selecting art from the best in nature his paintings are not simple likeness of bodies, but are alive with the semblance of the senses and in his paintings one really understands more than one sees.[25]

Annibale accompanied Domenichino to the Vatican when he first arrived in Rome. Domenichino seemed intriguingly non-committal about the frescoes, responding to Annibale's enthusiastic questioning "Eh."[26] This unenthusiastic response prompted Annibale to send him back every day for the next week. It was only at the end of the week that Domenichino began to comprehend and fully appreciate Raphael's paintings. Bellori's words sum up Domenichino's attitude towards Raphael's art and in particular Domenichino's interest in Raphael's *invenzione* and *affetti*:

> If we wish to judge the essence of painting fairly, which consists in the imitation of human actions, who has ever risen as high as Raphael in *Istoria*, who can be equal in the imitation of human deeds.[27]

Domenichino's interest in Raphael's frescoes, in particular his balance of colours, use of light, and lack of *chiaroscuro* and *sfumato*, is something which comes to the fore in the Flagellation of St. Andrew, painted in 1607-1609 in the Oratorio di Sant' Andrea, adjacent to the church of San Gregorio Magno in Rome (plate 35).

In the Flagellation of St. Andrew, Domenichino uses strong vertical and horizontal planes. The scene is set within a monumental classical architectural framework, not unlike Raphael's School of Athens, or The Expulsion of Heliodorus in the Vatican Stanze.[28] The rich saturated hues which Domenichino had assimilated from Annibale were now discarded.[29] Domenichino's colour range became dramatically

reduced in his frescoes as he adopted Raphael's use of low to mid-valued hues and tones, of the *unione* mode.

A painter selects tones which are harmoniously balanced across the colour field. This system offers the widest tonal range. By manipulating the value range, the artist can adjust tones so they are seen as coherently balanced rather than competing against each other.

If one looks at Raphael's frescoes in the Segnatura, in particular the third work to be executed, The School of Athens, (plate 36), there are no excessive contrasts of *chiaroscuro*, or *cangiantismo*-type effects. Raphael weaves the figures together, using a wide range of poses and gesture. All of the colours are balanced against one another, so that no one colour predominates, for example, for the figures of Plato and Aristotle, Raphael uses hues of the same value. The blue mantle of Aristotle is of the same intensity as the orange/red cloak of Plato. Thus the fresco is read as a rhythmical pattern of harmonised colours.

In Domenichino's Flagellation of St. Andrew, he matches each of the hues and tones within a diminished colour scale. He uses muted greys, brick reds and browns, for the architectural setting and the floor. The monochromatic nature of the setting caused Domenichino to reduce the overall unity of the colours across the picture plane. Domenichino did not need to harmonise colour with the architectural setting or brick pavement because they are monochromatic. He used saturated hues in the foreground figures, which effectively create the impression of a polychromatic frieze. It is difficult to ascertain Domenichino's original colour scheme, because of the water damage and crystalline deposits as well as subsequent fungal growth. The robes of many of the on lookers have faded or changed colour due to oxidisation.[30] It is evident however, that he gave great consideration to his modal systems of colouring and the composition.

Domenichino's *Invenzione* and *Affetti*

In many of his paintings there is a very distinct stratification according to sex and social status. Domenichino invariably portrays the main protagonists in the forefront or mid-ground of the scene. They are usually depicted slightly apart from the other figures. In many of his religious works he depicts a group of women with children at the very forefront of the painting. In the Flagellation of St. Andrew, the figures in the foreground their expressions, gesticulatory action and emotional responses, convey the agony and suffering of the saint to the viewer. By contrast in Guido Reni's St. Andrew Led to Martyrdom which is in the Oratorio di Sant' Andrea on the opposite wall to Domenichino's Flagellation of St. Andrew, the figures show little emotional response to the ensuing event. They are detached from, rather than reactive to, the coming martyrdom. Bellori made a very pointed criticism about Reni's and Domenichino's frescoes by referring to an anecdotal story of an old woman and a child who visited the Oratorio. In front of Domenichino's fresco he says that the woman animatedly explained the painting to the child, where as upon turning to Reni's painting she just looked at it and then took the child and left without a word.[31] Bellori points out that Domenichino's fresco was better because of its narrative action, *affetti* and *invenzione*.

Lanfranco and Domenichino: The "Baroque" versus the "Classical" Style

During the intervening years after Agostino and Annibale's deaths, their students took different artistic paths. Albani, Guido Reni, and Lanfranco, who had worked with Domenichino returned to Bologna and Parma at various dates in the early 1600s. Although they began as stylistic allies, as witnessed by their training in the Carracci *Accademia* and in the early years in Rome under Annibale's tutelage, Domenichino and Lanfranco's art became divergent, as did their growing dislike for each other.

It has already been established that the Carracci's reformation of painting was about a synthesis of different styles of painting, bringing certain aspects of colour and design together to produce a greater naturalistic aesthetic, the practical and theoretical principles which they passed on to their students. Therefore, it can be seen that the roots of the "Baroque" and "classical" style were born out of the same foundations. The difference, however, between the two styles could be said to be one of degree. Domenichino's art reflected a calmer, less rhetorical style, constructed within defined boundaries, unlike Lanfranco's works, which relies on extraordinary asymmetry, figural poses, and stronger contrasts of colouristic and *chiaroscuro* effects. The rhetorical action, figural poses and colourism are more dynamic and forceful, seeming to break into the viewers space. Thus Domenichino and Lanfranco were responding to different modes of painting and colour, drawing upon various artistic traditions. It has been established that Domenichino derived much of his early inspiration from Raphael; and as will become evident, Lanfranco, from Correggio and the Roman Carravaggists.

Passeri mentioned that Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who became the main sponsor of the Oratorio di Sant' Andrea after the death of Cardinal Cesare Baronio in 1607, is known to have commissioned Guido Reni to complete the fresco cycle.[32] Passeri pointed out that Reni generously offered Domenichino one of the frescoes, and employed Lanfranco to do some of the decorative scenes.[33] Reni chose Domenichino and Lanfranco possibly under pressure from Annibale to assist him with the fresco cycle because of their personal and artistic allegiances, all three having worked under Annibale, on the Palazzo Farnese frescoes.[34]

Lanfranco's fresco of St. Gregorio Magno, (plate 37) shows all the hall-marks of his training under the Carracci. The elegant contrapostal pose is derived from antique sculpture and has a distinctive Raphaelesque-like quality. In particular, the angle of the head may well be drawn directly from Raphael's St. Cecilia or St. Catherine of Alexandria. The fresco is painted in monochrome, although, Lanfranco uses hints of

brown paint, giving the fresco warmth and life. There is no exaggerated use of *chiaroscuro* or *sfumato*, something which he was later to adopt.

With Lanfranco's return to Parma in 1610, he altered his style of painting, looking anew at Correggio's frescoes and paintings. Upon his return to Rome in 1612, Lanfranco's works begin to exhibit a looser, more delicate style, using subtle *chiaroscuro* effects. There is also a stronger sense of colourism, echoing the techniques used by Orazio Borgianni, Orazio Gentileschi and Saraceni of the Carravaggist school. This is evident in his first major public commission The Ascension of Christ, (1616), in the Buongiovanni Chapel in Sant' Agostino (plate 38). For the first time we see Lanfranco embracing a truly "Baroque" style of painting, exploiting Correggio's illusionistic techniques, something which he became famed for, particularly in his fresco of the Assumption of the Virgin in the cupola of Sant' Andrea della Valle.

Lanfranco was in a fortunate position during the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, since both Reni and Guercino had departed from Rome. Lanfranco became the favoured artist to Pope Paul V, receiving the commission for the decoration of the vault of the Benediction Loggia at St. Peter's. Following Paul's death in 1621, Lanfranco lost his official position under Gregory XV. Paul's successor, supported Domenichino who was chosen to paint the fresco cycle in Sant' Andrea della Valle. This is not to say that Lanfranco did not win a number of prestigious commissions in Rome during the 1620s, but the rise or fall of an artist depended upon the patronage of the ruling papal family and its circle. Papal patronage had a marked effect on Domenichino's fortunes during the 1620s. Between the years of 1621 and 1631 before his departure to Naples, Domenichino received no less than 36 commissions for paintings and fresco cycles. This would suggest that Lanfranco's attempts to discredit Domenichino over The Last Rites of St. Jerome in 1621 proved to be of little or no importance in the eyes of Domenichino's patrons or fellow artists.

The Last Rites of St. Jerome

In early 1612 Domenichino returned to Bologna. The visit was prompted by the recent commission for a large altarpiece depicting The Last Rites of St. Jerome, which was painted for San Girolamo della Carità in Rome (plate 39).[35] Undoubtedly he went to look specifically at Agostino Carracci's Last Rites of St. Jerome (plate 40).

Domenichino obviously greatly admired Agostino's painting as he used it as a model for his own work. It is documented that he owned a number of preparatory drawings by Agostino for the composition. Domenichino was also able to consult Agostino's son, Antonio Carracci's collection in Rome. In addition it is beyond doubt that he took the central figure of the old man from Tibaldi's The Baptism of the Multitude by St. John the Baptist in the Cappella Poggi in S. Giacomo Maggore in Bologna of (plate 41) as well as the figural grouping as inspiration.[36] In The Baptism of the Multitude by St. John the Baptist. The figure of old man with the out-stretched hands behind the woman in the foreground was also used as a model for Agostino's St. Jerome. It is likely that Tibaldi drew his inspiration from an antique statue of the pseudo-Seneca whilst on a visit to Rome in 1547 (plate 42).[37] The statue was originally housed in the Villa Borghese and would have been seen by Agostino and Domenichino, but the similarity between Agostino and Domenichino and the Tibaldi figure is so strong, that Agostino and Domenichino must have taken inspiration from Tibaldi. Domenichino's figure is an amalgamation of the statue and Tibaldi and Agostino figures.

The Dispute Between Lanfranco and Domenichino

It was common practice for artists to "borrow" figural poses and settings, but the idea that an artist's reputation could be damaged by the revelation that he had relied upon specific models was most unusual. There were no direct accusations levelled at

Domenichino upon the unveiling of The Last Rites of St. Jerome in 1614. However, the ensuing rivalry between Domenichino and Lanfranco during the early 1620's, particularly during the commission in Sant' Andrea della Valle, brought the issue to a head. It was clearly Lanfranco's intention to destroy Domenichino's reputation, but he failed on this count. Rather than discrediting Domenichino he may have invertantly helped Domenichino to gain a larger share of the work.[38]

Lanfranco's attack was calculated to inflict maximum damage to Domenichino's reputation. During the early stages of the competition for the commission in Sant' Andrea della Valle, Lanfranco sent his assistant Francois Perrier to Bologna to etch Agostino's painting of The Last Rites of St. Jerome. Lanfranco then circulated these copies to try and prove that Domenichino had "stolen" the design from Agostino and used no original thought. Lanfranco's attack did little to affect Domenichino's status in Rome during the 1620's, since the growing numbers of commissions during his period in Sant' Andrea della Valle, and after, prove he was considered one of the most important and well respected painters of his day. Of all Domenichino's biographers, only Malvasia seemed to have shown little regard for Domenichino's The Last Rites of St. Jerome. Malvasia's view-point was not founded on what we now think of as plagiarism. He believed that Domenichino's borrowings were not from necessity but whim. Malvasia does however, concede:

> And what painter in some way does not steal? Either from prints or reliefs or nature or works by others, reversing postures, twisting an arm lower, displaying a leg, changing a face, adding a drapery, in sum, judiciously hiding the theft.[39]

Passeri's comments note that the criticism laid at Domenichino's door was not necessarily directed at artistic integrity but at the ensuing rivalries and factions. He does not deny that Domenichino gained "some ideas" from Agostino's altarpiece, but that the end result was quite different in conception.[40]

The ensuing rivalry was based on "who was against Domenichino, [and] who was against Lanfranco, according to hatred or affection".[41] Bellori agreed with the positive commentaries of Sacchi and Poussin, both of whom viewed the painting as one of the greatest masterpieces of Italian art. Bellori concludes the nature of the *affetti* and the postures of the figures were so different from Agostino's that the painting "does not merit the name of theft but of praiseworthy imitation".[42]

Bellori and Passeri recognised that Domenichino's The Last Rites of St. Jerome was an interpretation of Agostino's painting, and that there are many noticeable differences between the two works. Agostino portrays the saint surrounded by his followers in monastic robes of the Hieronymite order. The figure taking notes of the last confession of the saint is possibly Eusebius, one of Jerome's followers.[43] Domenichino places St. Jerome's followers in garments "of no religion," apart from the celebrants.[44] This may well be in response to Erasmus and Baronius who dismissed Eusebius' text as fictional.[45] Domenichino's rendition is therefore historically more correct rather than Agostino's which is based on the spurious text. Domenichino places the priests, deacon and sub deacon in Greek vestments, since St. Jerome died in Bethlehem, "where the Greek rite was practised."[46] Domenichino however, makes one concession. He portrays the priest administering the Host of unleavened bread, which was used in the Catholic Rite, rather than fermented bread used in the Greek Rite. Passeri mentions that Domenichino portrayed this because he did not "wish to confuse the common people."[47]

In his text the *Discorso* Bishop Gabriele Paleotti, reacting against mannerism, called for a more naturalistic approach in portraying saints, Christ, the Virgin Mary, or God. Domenichino seems to have heeded this. In The Last Rites of St. Jerome Domenichino does not seem to idealise the human figure. The figural pose of St. Jerome is more decrepit than Agostino's saint. There is a greater sense of pathos and emotional depth. Agostino's portrait is to some degree idealised. The musculature of the body is not that of a man of ninety years of age but of a much younger figure. Domenichino

shows the viewer a more realistic portrayal of the saint's suffering, his ageing body and decrepitude and his approaching death. The accent is on the last moment before death and the final Sacrament.

Domenichino and Guido Reni

During Domenichino's visit to Bologna in 1612, he renewed his contact with Guido Reni. Malvasia says that, Domenichino was filled with "unbounded" enthusiasm for Reni's *dolcezza* or "sweetness" of style and expression. This prompted Domenichino's reconsideration of the works of Correggio. He had seen in Reni's paintings a new attempt to imitate Correggio's *morbidezza* or softness of form.[48] What he noticed in Reni's art was that his painting exhibited a softer, more mellow style, reminiscent of Annibale's late Pietà's. Spear suggests that Domenichino was familiar with at least one version of Reni's Coronation of the Virgin painted in 1607 (plate 43, National Gallery, London), which was inspired by Annibale's work of the same title.[49] In The Martyrdom of St. Agnes (plate 44) Domenichino drew upon a number of aspects of Reni's painting, borrowing the same figural poses, particularly Reni's angel on the bottom right, holding the lute. Domenichino followed Reni's version of The Coronation of the Virgin, as he saw something new and innovative in his style. Reni uses rich saturated hues of blue and red, which predominate across the picture plane. This is evident when looking again at the lute-playing angel, where Reni creates sumptuous *cangiantsimo* effects for the robes of the angel. The blue robe is suffused with golden light, which resonates and oscillates. It is this use of light with which Domenichino was so fascinated, and why he sought to emulate Reni rather than Annibale. Annibale does not use light in the same manner in his Coronation of The Virgin (plate 45). The work is painted in *sfumato*; the light is softer and more diffused. Another distinction between Annibale and Reni's works is the differences in the handling of *chiaroscuro*. Reni's contrasts of *chiaroscuro* are more defined and sharper. Again, this is evident when

looking at Reni's lute-playing angel: the arm is highlighted against the shadow of the cloud, thus giving it greater delineation of form and emphasising the musculature.

It was suggested by Bellori and Passeri, as well as a number of modern art historians that Domenichino's return to Bologna in 1612 was prompted by his growing artistic crisis. Posner has suggested that Domenichino was shaken by criticism from many of his contemporaries, in particular Lanfranco and Albani concerning his growing classicising tendencies, over the Flagellation of St. Andrew, in the Oratorio di Sant' Andrea in Rome. Despite his growing reputation, Domenichino had received few lucrative commissions. This could be attributed to a loss of patronage, since the Borghese were now the premier Roman family replacing the Aldobrandini. On the other hand, Domenichino's return to Bologna may well have been purely to organise his wedding arrangements and to visit his family. There is no doubt that his visit to Bologna was motivated by a wish to seek new and fresh ideas from his contemporaries who had studied in the Carracci *Accademia*.

The preceding chapter began by looking at Domenichino's early artistic development in Rome under the guidance of Annibale. The aim was to show to what extent Domenichino began to assimilate the canons of Roman High Renaissance art, and pointed to his interest Raphael's use of *affetti*, *invenzione*, *disegno* and *colore*. Moreover, the evidence suggests and points to the fact that it was during this period that Domenichino began to adopt a more classical style of painting, based on antique models of architecture and sculpture. In so doing, the aim was to show how Domenichino's paintings become more linear and his figures are more sculptural in form. He also began to harmonise his colours by adopting a palate of mid-level hues and tones in response to an increasing awareness of the effects of natural sunlight, and it is this, which marks the difference in style between Domenichino and Annibale. Lanfranco was introduced as he and Domenichino were both students of Annibale and began as artistic allies, but took divergent paths, drawing upon different modal systems of colouring and design. In the

next chapter, the aim is to develop this theme further. The main focus will be on the theoretical basis of the Carracci's "reformation of painting" and will show how Domenichino, as the heir to Annibale, takes on his concerns in developing a new and distinctive style of painting, based on classical principles.

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[1] Bellori, 1672, p. 292; Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 221 and Passeri, ed. 1934, pp. 22-23.
[2] Ibid.
[3]The earliest known fresco by Domenichino is in San Colombano in Bologna of Christ's Descent into Limbo, ca. 1598-1600. The work reveals certain elements of his tutelage under Ludovico Carracci, in particular the heavy set figures and vigorous movement of the angels and massed groupings in the top of the fresco, which are reminicent of the angels in Ludovico's St George and the Dragon in San Giacomo Maggore in Bologna. Domenichino also seems to have borrowed a number of figural poses from Pellegrino Tibaldi's fresco cycle in the Cappella Poggi, particularly the lower right hand figure, which shows similarities in terms of the facial features to the central male figure in Tibaldi's Annunciation of St. Elizabeth. See Spear, 1982, p. 125.
[4] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 22-23.
[5] See Dempsey Annibale Carracci, The Farnese Gallery Rome, 1995, pp. 70, 82-83.
[6] Annibale probably adopted this method of cross hatching from Correggio, as well as his own experiments in print making. It is more than likely that he went to look at the frescoes in the Camera di San Paolo in Parma, in particular Correggio's use of this technique around the swags of flowers, trophy heads of rams, goats and plates, which are used to decorate the lower rim of the frescoes.
[7] Annibale's fresco cycle in the Palazzo Farnese was designed with the particular aim of complimenting the large collection of classical sculpture which the Farnese had amassed. Annibale drew inspiration from and made references to a number of pieces in the collection, in particular the Farnese Hercules and the Venus Pudica both, which are now in the Vatican.
[8] It was during the first few years in Rome that Domenichino also came into contact with Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi, who was helping Annibale with the iconographical program for the Palazzo Farnese frescoes.
[9] Baglione, 1642, p. 382. Albani, informed Malvasia that it was actually he, who introduced Poli and Domenichino. Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 223. Also see Domenichino, exhibition catalogue, Rome 1996, chapter four, pp. 121-138.
[10] Both Cardinal Girolamo and Giovanni Battista Agucchi had served as *maggiordomo* for the Aldobrandini family. Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini and Cardinal Odoardo Farnese had an uneasy relationship, which finally ended in 1600 after the dynastic marriage between Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's sister Margherita and Cardinal Aldobrandini's brother.
[11] In the ensuing letters between Agucchi and Galileo between 1611-13, one can see that Agucchi showed great interest in the study of solar machinery and mathematics. Much of the time Agucchi disagreed with Galileo over his views on the Copernican solar system and the heliocentric universe. This is not surprising as Agucchi was a man of the church and his views staunchly Catholic in taste and view. Agucchi was introduced to Galileo through a mutual friend, the mathematician Luca Valiero. See Pio Paschini, *Vita e Opera di Galileo Galilei* in Miscellanae Galileiana, Rome 1964, p. 286. Also see *Galileo Galilei Le Opera di Galileo Galilei*, ed. Antonio Favaro, Florence, 1901, vol. II; Agucchi's "*Del Mezzo Discorso*

Accademico," preserved in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, Mss. Gal, Discepoli, Tom. 136, folios 95-110. Also see Erwin Panofsky Galileo as a Critic of the Arts, The Hague, 1954.

[12] Domenichino spent four years with the Agucchi brothers, moving out in 1608. This was necessitated by the recent commission, sponsored by the Farnese to decorate the Grottaferrata chapel.

[13] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 23.

[14] Bellori 1672, p. 315. "*Gli era di gran giouamento il leggere historici, e poeti, e se ne approfittaua per l'introduttione hauutane da Monsig. Gio. Battista Agucchi, il quale per lo poesia, con offeruare i mezzi e li termini de poesti, e de Pittori nel rappresentare. In questo studio l' Agucchi communicando con Domenico, si proposi di comporre un discorso sopra le varie maniera della pittura.*" Malvasia also mentions that there was an intended collaboration for a treatise on painting and that it "was composed with the guidance and advice first from Annibale and then Domenichino." Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 110. See also II p. 239.

[15] Studies in Seicento Art and Theory, 1947, pp.126-31.

[16] Aristotle/Horace/Longinus, Classical Literary Criticism, (trans. T. S. Dorsch) Penguin Books, 1965, p. 36.

[17] Aristotle, Politics, Book VIII, (trans. Benjamin Jowett), p. 134.

[18] In Rensselaer Lee's article, "*Ut Pictura Poesis*: The Humanistic Theory of Painting" he points out that: "The saying [*ut pictura poesis*] attributed by Plutarch to Simonides that painting is mute poetry, poetry as a speaking picture, was quoted frequently and with enthusiasm; and Horace's famous simile *ut pictura poesis*-as is painting so is poetry-which writers on art expected one to read "as in poetry so is painting" was invoked more and more. . .." Art Bulletin, 1940, no. 22, pp. 199-269. As Lee points out, the foundation of painting both for the ancients and in the Renaissance and Baroque, is the imitation of nature. He cites Dolce's *Dialogo della Pittura, L' Artino*, which was one of the first texts to discuss this issue in terms of painting imitating poetry. Dolce saw that the artist needed to go further than just merely reproduce, but, actually needed to improve upon nature. Dolce was in many respects following the method of literary criticism, concerning the doctrine of ideal imitation, which his contemporaries adopted, prescribing a set of rules for poetry based on Aristotle and Horace. Aristotle and Horace became the exemplars of the literary tradition on imitation, within poetry and painting. Aristotle, Poetics, ed. Albert Hofstadter and Richard Kuhns, in Philosophies of Art and Beauty, 1964, p. 97. By the seventeenth century Bellori had codified the theory of ideal imitation. As Lee cites: "he [Bellori] leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that he thought of the Idea not primarily as an archetype of beauty existing *a priori* in metaphysical independence, but as derived *a posteriori* by a selective process from the artists actual experience of nature". ibid, p. 209. Thus like the painter, the poet's aim was to imitate through language, the same effects of antique sculpture and the observation of nature, thus creating the *idea de bello*.

[19] Jan Bialostocki also points out in his article "*Das Modesproblem in den Bildenden Künsten*," under the subheading "*Stilkategorien der Rhetoric, der Literatur und der Architektur*," that within art, the genres of classical rhetoric were also connected and bound to the notion of decorum, which held the greatest status. Cicero writes in The Orator that: . . .one and the same style and the same thoughts cannot be used haphazardly for every situation, every social standing, every rank, and every age; by distinction one has to take the occasion, time and audience into consideration. As in poetry or music, painting reflects the "epic, lyric and tragic" styles. Here issues of decorum come into play, where, like the rhetorician or the conductor, each is able to manipulate their audience's emotions within the context of the specific style. So the painter does the same by creating an ambience suitable to the subject matter at hand. Bialostocki draws attention to the fact that like the rhetorician, painters needed to be able to address a specific audience. Malvasia's criticism of Domenichino's fresco cycle in San Luigi in Francesi where he discusses St. Cecilia Distributing Alms where the poor are seen fighting over the spoils, brings to the fore this whole issue of Ciceronian rhetoric. Like the rhetorician the painters aim was to ". . .prove, delight, persuade. . ." his audience, but he also needed to take into account the ". . .rank, prestige, age. . ." and education of the viewer. To this degree Malvasia perhaps misinterpreted Domenichino's aims in expressing reality. The humorous episodes expose what is real and tangible to the viewer, giving credibility to the subject matter at hand. Malvasia discussed Domenichino's fresco, mentioning that he was dissatisfied with the manner of handling the *affetti* and comical aspects which had no place in religious work of art. Malvasia, ed. 1971, pp. 532-533.

[20] Spear, 1982, p. 131.

[21] Domenichino's The Adoration of the Shepherds was copied from a lost work of the same subject by Annibale. It is unclear when Domenichino completed The Adoration of the Shepherds. Borea postulated

that the painting is ca. 1610 on stylistic grounds, due to its masterful execution. However, Spear has argued that it predates 1610 and is more likely to be from 1607-8. Spear, 1965, p. 43. In view of this it would not be injudisious to support this hypothesis, as Domenichino's colourism is still heavily indebted to Annibale. Domenichino's copy of Annibale's lost work, is loosely based on Correggio's Le Notte now in Dresden. As Spear points out, in view of his study on Mâle that The Adoration of the Shepherds is a Bridgettine nativity; an archetypical example of post-Tridentine doctrine on the event, where the sombre nativity is conflated with the joyful adoration in order to produce a more festive scene. It is well documented that in 1373, St. Brigitta arrived in Naples after returning from the Holy Land. Her revelation at the supposed sight of the birth of Christ had an important impact on artists, heralding a new style of nativity presentation. In the Italio-Byzantine tradition, the Virgin was usually portrayed, reclining on a bed, with Joseph sleeping in the corner, symbolising humanity unaware of the incarnation. There was no light radiating from Christ. In St. Brigetta's vision she saw the Child radiant with light, surrounded by singing angels, thus introducing elements which were to led to a new style of portraying the Nativity. As Hugh Brigstocke has noted the painting is in relatively good condition apart from the Virgin's robes which have suffered some discoloration through chemical change, as has the yellow robe of the kneeling child with the dove. Brigstocke, 1978, pp. 38-42.

[22] This may well because Annibale dampens the effect of saturated light by adding a layer of varnish, in specific areas. This allows certain colours to be brought forward in the picture plane, whilst creating areas which are matt and flattened. If for example areas of shadow are varnished they will shift forwards slightly. Thus the saturated areas of light are flattened and do not bounce out of key.

[23] Spear, 1982, pp. 52-53.

[24] Bellori, 1672, pp. 346-47. Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 23.

[25] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 4.

[26] Bellori, 1672, pp. 346-47.

[27] ibid. Also see Malvasia, ed. 1841, I p. 345. As shall be seen in the next chapter, Bellori's praise of Annibale and his comparison with Raphael is clearly an important factor and cannot be ignored in this discussion about Annibale (and later Domenichino) developing a new artistic vocabulary upon his arrival in Rome.

[28] Domenichino often places his figures within an architectural frame-work. In Domenichino's St. Cecilia Distributing Alms to the Poor in the Polet chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, he sets the figures in front of a wall. It is as though the architecture acts as a stage, upon which the figures play out the scene, not unlike an ancient Greek or Roman frieze. Oskar Bätschmann has argued that the architectural settings in Domenichino's paintings plays an important metaphorical role. In the Flagellation of St. Andrew in the Cappella di Sant' Andrea, he pointed out that the architectural setting was representitive of an oppressive and dictatorial society. It bears down on the prostrate figure of St. Andrew, thus emphasising his helplessness and mortality. Oskar Bätschmann Nicolas Poussin: Dialectics of Painting, 1990, p. 122.

[29] This change of hue and tone may well be due to the effects of chemical change and water damage. The frescoes are presently undergoing preliminary restoration which unfortunately barred me from gaining access to see them.

[30] The room was already in a bad state of repair by 1739-40. Ménageot pointed out in 1788-79 that: "*une des plus belles choses qu'il y ait à Rome et qui n' existera plus dans quinze ans, car cette belle fesque dépérit de jour en jour.*" See De Brosses, ed. 1798, III, p. 118 and Gray ed. 1837-43; Montaiglon and Guiffery, 1887-1912. An anonymous English traveller also mentions that the frescoes were badly damaged and were: "the vestiges of the matchless frescoes of Domenichino and Guido-the spectres of paintings, 'the ghosts of what they were.'" Anonymous, 1820, II, pp. 321-25.

[31] Bellori, 1672, pp. 303-304. Malvasia refuted the story and said it fictitious, basing his conclusion on the fact that the story did not appear until 1646, in the preface to Monsini's *Arti di Bologna*. Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, pp. 225-226. Also see Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 29, Mahon, 1947, p. 271; Boschloo 1974, pp. 148-149; and Jaffé, 1975.

[32] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 148.

[33] See the "Introduction" to this thesis, p. 4, concerning Mahon's article, "Malvasia as a Source for Sources" Burlington Magazine, 1986, pp.790-795. Also see Dempsey and Cropper's reply in the Art Bulletin, 1987.

[34] Bellori writes that Annibale was amazed at Domenichino's achievement and he "couldn't restrain himself any longer [and] went up to Domenichino, embracing him and saying 'Domenico, today I am learning from you.'" Bellori, 1672, p. 348.

[35] Bellori, 1672, p. 304, states that the commission was given to Domenichino in his thirtieth year ie. in 1611. The painting was finally unveiled on the 30th of September 1614, the feast day of St. Jerome.
[36] Pellegrino Tibaldi, Cappella Poggi, 1555-57.
[37] The statue of the pseudo-Seneca was originally owned by the Borghese, which is now in the Louvre.
[38] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 224; Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 48; Bellori, 1672, p. 309.
[39] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 240. Also see Malvasia's comments on Domenichino as an artist and personality, ibid, p. 224.
[40] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 40.
[41] ibid, p. 48.
[42] Bellori, *Vita di Nicolas Poussin* 1672, p. 462. Concerning the row over the painting see pp. 304-10. Concerning the letter quoted by Poussin see Paul Alfassa, "*L'origine de la lettre de Poussin sur la modes d'apres un travail recent*," *Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histore de l'Art francais*, 1933, pp. 125-43; Anthony Blunt "Poussin's notes on Painting" Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, I, 1937/8, pp. 344-51. Poussin clearly articulated the view that the: "novelty in painting does not consist primarily in a subject not seen before, but in a good and new disposition and expression and in this way the subject from being common and old becomes singular and new." Bellori, 1672, p. 462. This view underpins Domenichino's attempts to use Agostino's painting as a reference: to improve upon the art of his old masters by assimilating new ideas and canons of art. As Oskar Batchmann points out in Nicholas Poussin, Dialectics of Painting:
"Poussin's note *Della Novità* about the row over Domenichino's *Communione di San Gerolamo* deals with disposition and subject matter. . .Poussin's comparison is based on a note by Tasso on the "Novelty of the Poem" but uses the terms of art theory and in particular the connection between invention and disposition that had been proposed by Ludovico Dolce in his Dialogue on Painting in 1557." p. 12. See Chapter Five, sub chapter Rinaldo and Armida, for a discussion on Domenichino's rendition of Rinaldo and Armida, and Tasso's views on the poetical form.
Poussin judged *invenzione* as the first of the three divisions of painting, but within this he subdivided *invenzione* into two main points: disposition and decorum (*l'ordine and la convenevolezza*). Disposition could only be achieved through a conscious process based on Aristotelian precepts of clear divisions of beginning, middle and end. This view therefore corresponds with the Latin term *dispositio* and the three divisions of discourse in rhetoric.
[43] The story of St. Jerome's last communion comes from the Psudo-Eusebius of Cremona: that at the age of ninety, the saint "with great crying and gasping" received communion with his disciples just before his death. See Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, XXII. cols 239, ff. 270-75; also see Passeri ed. 1934 pp. 39-40: Mâle, 1932, pp. 77-78; and Spear, 1982, pp. 176-77.
[44] Passeri, ed. 1934, pp. 39-40.
[45] Mâle, 1932, p. 77.
[46] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 39.
[47] ibid, pp. 39-40.
[48] See Pepper, Guido Reni, pp. 209, 214, 222.
[49] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 232. Malvasia mentions a letter from Domenichino to Fransesco Poli dated 6th May 1612 from Bologna, in which Domenichino was purported to have written: "I have seen the great works by Guido in San Domenico and in San Michele in Bosco, things that come from heaven, painted by the hand of an angel-oh what air of paradise, oh what expressions, *affetti*, what truth and liveliness, oh this is painting."

Chapter Three

Theory Bound in Practice Within The Carracci Academy

Within intellectual circles in Bologna and Rome, the Carracci's "reformation of painting" sparked a rhetorical and polemical debate concerning the differing styles between the three cousins and their pupils. The two leading protagonists of the debate were Malvasia and Bellori. The former championed the cause of Emilian art, in particular the works of Ludovico Carracci and Guido Reni, because, as he saw it, they did not seek to assimilate influences foreign to their artistic vocabulary. The latter expressed the view that it was not until Annibale arrived in Rome that art reached new heights of greatness. This debate begins by looking at the issue of painting, and in particular, artistic theory and practice in Bologna during the late 16th century. In so doing the discussion will then go on to focus on the Carracci and their students and in particular Domenichino's role in the "reformation of painting."

Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso*

Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, the Bishop of Bologna was one of the first post-Tridentine theoreticians on art who believed that there was a need for a "reformation of painting." Paleotti was born and educated in Bologna where he studied civil and canon law. In 1556 he was called to Rome by Paul IV as *Giudice di Rota* (Justice of the Rolls). Having actively participated in the Council of Trent from 1561 to 1563 as *Consigliere dei Legati al Concilio* (Counsellor of the Legate to the Council), Paleotti was elevated to the College of Cardinals in March 1565. He was also one of the three canonists who assisted the *Congregazione del Concilio* (Congregation of the Council), in working out the practical consequences of the provisions of Trent. It is possible that the so-called Tridentine decrees relating to artistic practices were, however, more like the minutes of the closing sessions of the council and that Paleotti simply found there a cause close to

his own heart.[1] Paleotti's interest in the reformation may well have stemmed from a desire to see the dictates of the Council put into practice, not only on an ecclesiastical level, but amongst the laity as well. Paleotti, like many of his contemporaries in Northern Italy such as Carlo Borromeo, advocated a spiritual and organisational reform of the Church.

Paleotti's position has been underplayed by the majority of art historians. The Carracci's reformation of painting echoes exactly the issues with which Paleotti was dealing. His influence is evident in many artistic areas, particularly painting, seen by the growing trend amongst Bolognese artists to move away from mannerist tendencies towards a greater naturalism, as exemplified in the works of the Carracci. From the outset of his appointment, he was active in implementing the doctrines of Trent and reorganising ecclesiastical administrative procedures within his diocese. Once established as Bishop of Bologna, he took up continuous residence within the Episcopal Palace. This was an unusual event as Bishops rarely remained within their diocese, or took an interest in the reorganisation of the ecclesiastical procedures of the Church, hospitals, prisons or aided the poor. Direct daily contact and communion with the clergy and people was ensured by preaching regularly, not only in the parishes of the city, but within the surrounding country.[2]

One of the most important questions which has been often raised and never been fully explained, is to what extent Paleotti's post-Tridentine views on painting initiated a socio-cultural and artistic reformation. Boschloo to some degree tried to re-evaluate and bring back into play the critical aspects of Paleotti's views, in particular those found in his *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*.[3] The *Discorso*, was made up of two main books, (along with an introductory *Poemio*, and *alcuni avverttimenti*): the first book contained 33 chapters and the second 52, along with a list of contents for another three books. These last books remained incomplete at Paleotti's death in 1597. It would be impossible to evaluate the *Discorso* fully here, although,

Boschloo's view that the *Discorso* had no direct effect upon the artists of Bologna can be questioned.[4] The Carracci's reformation of painting echoes exactly the issues with which Paleotti was dealing. Certainly Paleotti's *Discorso*, and his position in furthering and championing Tridentine doctrines on the production and function of art, was not particularly unique within the period. However, what was so important to Paleotti was the manifest need for artists to look and study nature. In the first book, he discusses the role of the painter in terms of the artist's role, whose aim like the rhetorician, is to educate, edify and move the audience:

> Of the fine Christian painter to officiate, in a similar manner as the orator.[5]

The artist's role was therefore as educator, and painting was to function on a didactic level. Paleotti implies that the function of religious art was to convey to the illiterate a realistic portrayal of the subject matter at hand. This was neither a new nor novel concept since the function of religious art had always been seen as a vehicle to communicate the written word in visual terms.[6] Just as the rhetorician moves his audience through the eloquence of speech and gesticulation, so the painter must do the same, conveying emotions and drama, urging the viewer to greater piety. Paleotti was to some degree echoing St. Gregory's views when he stressed that painting was worthy of praise because of its stimulating effect upon the spectator. St. Gregory's two letters (written circa 594 A. D.) concerning the issue of iconoclasm raised by Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, proposed the view that pictures offered the possibility of acting as a visual parallel to the written word.[7] Since the majority of the population were illiterate, they would have acquired a knowledge of the scriptures through a teacher or mediator, who read aloud from the text. The orator may well have used images to substantiate the points which were being made. However, if the illiterate viewer came across an image with which he was not familiar, then he would not be able to decipher its theme or message. The image could however, bring to mind the word of God, thus aiding the

viewer's contemplation of the scriptures. In the 10th century, Bede takes up St. Gregory's concern, further amplifying his view-point, by suggesting that pictures brought to mind a visual reflection of the Word of God and God's judgement upon the viewer. Thus pictures functioned both in a didactic sense and as an *aide mémoire* to remind the viewer of the Word of God, both written and spoken. This issue was again developed in the13th century by both St. Bonaventura and St. Thomas Aquinas. While not wishing to expand upon the theoretical and rhetorical debate regarding the role of images, it is important to indicate that Paleotti's views stem from a long tradition of concern about the function and position of painting, within a didactic framework as the visual translation of scripture for those who could not read.

> . . .With the Christian imagination, we stress be near and have regard of God. . .and thus the mind moved . . .will [be reminded] of the all divine. . .giving our life a more effective meaning. . .to feel the same as someone else who represented the world, [i.e.. a saint] that we together will in our heart be generously heroic and magnanimous or with patience or with judgement and/or chastity and mildness. . .may feel the misery of the another similar.[8]

The picture is given the dual function not only of moving the spectator, but also of informing him, with the aim of inculcating in him, the qualities inherently associated with the saints, or through the crucifixion or the passion of Christ. Paleotti impresses upon the reader how rhetoric is a useful and motivating factor, particularly in conveying a story of the religious zeal and steadfastness of the Christian Virgin or of the suffering of Christ:

> [the painter should produce a work of art that is] alive with colour. . .so to increase the Virgin's fight and. . .Christ nailed, [whether] he be portrayed [in the mediums of] wood or marble.[9]

Obviously other factors come into play concerning notions of decorum as in preaching. Elaboration must be kept within the bounds of truth so painting must be handled in the same way. If artifice (*artificio*) is called for, then it should be restrained and used only to strengthen the credibility. The horror of tortured souls or the martyrdom of a saint should be rendered in such a manner as to convey to the audience the reality of the suffering. Where this is depicted, maximum force should be employed to heighten the dramatic effect:

> And in this matter they can usefully portray with horror such things as will more effectively move the heart and excite devotion.[10]

Paleotti also focused upon the role of the artist in manifesting through his art the aims of *vero*, or the truth. He looked specifically at the actual methods of art production. He writes that painting must convey a faithful rendering of the subject matter at hand:

> In short, painting must be the true imitation of the things in nature. . .Art is an image and vestige of nature, but nature is the true exemplifier.[11]

These words were later echoed by Agucchi who championed the Carracci's cause in his fragmentary *Trattato della pittura*, begun in 1604, with guidance from Annibale, and later Domenichino.

The question then arises as to what effect Paleotti's *Discorso* had an effect upon the Carracci and their "reformation of painting". The printing of a limited edition of the *Discorso* was begun in 1581, but it was not intended for mass consumption or public sale.[12] The Carracci would have undoubtedly known of the treatise through a number of sources, in particular, Prospero Fontana, Domenico Tibaldi and Ullisse Aldrovandi. Ludovico Carracci is assumed to have been in Fontana's workshop for a period of time during the 1570s and Agostino was known to have worked with Tibaldi. If this is so, then his apprenticeship would have coincided with the very period that Fontana and Tibaldi were assisting Paleotti with the treatise. Ullisse Aldrovandi's position is also of

major importance, not only because he was Paleotti's chief adviser, but also because he was a regular visitor to the Carracci's workshop. Aldrovandi had studied the humanities, law, logic, philosophy, mathematics and medicine at the universities of Bologna and Padua. He was appointed *Lectura philosophiae naturalis ordinaris de fosilibus, plantis, et animalibus* at the university of Bologna in 1556, a position he held for over fifty years. In the course of his tenureship, he formulated a systematic and analytic investigation into many facets of the natural world around him. He, like Paleotti, desired to improve the medical and pharmaceutical arts, both within the university and in Bologna, thus giving aid to the general public in terms of better health care. Aldrovandi also founded the first botanical garden in Bologna, not only as a place of recreation for its citizens but for research purposes for the students at the university. He brought together a wide collection of medicinal plants, not only from Europe but also the new world, along with curiosities which he had sent to him by many eminent scholars.[13]

The friendship between Paleotti and Aldrovandi was a long one, stretching back to their youth. They both shared a keen interest in natural history and the arts. Aldrovandi's letters to Paleotti (between 1580-81) echoed the notion of art as possessing didactic qualities, through direct instruction and reflection on the visible world.[14] Aldrovandi's views are at times commonplace, particularly his comments that images were the "literature of the illiterate", but his insights into the function of art are extremely perceptive. Aldrovandi believed that painting should reflect nature as it was seen, and should be studied from an empirical point of view. Hence Paleotti's views echo Aldrovandi's own belief that painting should provide a faithful rendering of things in nature. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Carracci's concern with observing nature is of fundamental importance in reflecting ideas which were prevalent within contemporary intellectual and artistic circles. For the Carracci, one of their main aims was to reflect the most progressive aspects of contemporary artistic theory and mirror

these concerns in their painting, which becomes one of the driving forces behind their methods of teaching.

There is not enough evidence to prove conclusively that Paleotti's treatise inspired the Carracci's "reformation of painting." It is obvious however, that the Carracci were reacting against the excesses of mannerism, in particular the contorted figural poses and unnatural colourism, and returning to a style of painting, which was based on the observation of nature and the best elements of High Renaissance art and antique sculpture. Malvasia's anecdote about the three cousins sitting together discussing their future, and in particular Agostino's comment, "I do hope we are not blundering with this naturalistic style of ours," leads Goldstein to question whether Malvasia was manufacturing and manipulating the truth.[15] However, this does not detract from the seriousness of the Carracci's aims. The importance of the Carracci's reformation must be seen in context of a wider reformation in the Arts that was taking place during the 1580's.

Theory and Practice

The success of the Carracci *Accademia* lay very much in their teaching methods, both in the theory and practice of painting and related subject matter. The diversity of techniques and styles of their pupils shows the eclectic nature of their approach, in assimilating the best of High Renaissance art, classical sculpture and the observation of nature. If one compares the differences between Domenichino, Reni and Poussin with Lanfranco and Pietro da Cortona one can see the development of two distinctive strands within Baroque painting. The "Classical" style of Domenichino, Reni and Poussin which reflected the best elements taken from the antique and High Renaissance art as exemplified by Raphael; and the second strand was indebted to the 'Venetian' tradition of rich colours and strong *chiaroscuro* effects, exemplified by a more elaborate and full blown "Baroque" or "Oratorical" style.[16] Each artist could

therefore could draw upon a fusion of different modal styles, be it *chiaroscuro*, *cangiantismo*, *sfumato*, or the *unione* modes of colouring. It was, however, not enough for a painter to merely practise his art, he also should have had a good grounding and knowledge of the theoretical principals of his trade.[17] As Lomazzo claims in his *Idea del tempio della pittura* of 1590, an artist had to learn not only geometry, perspective and arithmetic, which were essential for proportion, but also architecture, music and colour "without which one cannot be a perfect painter."[18] It is worth reiterating that the study of classical and contemporary texts on rhetoric, aesthetics, mythology, history and poetry were an important aspect of every young artist's education. The Carracci therefore incorporated a balanced training in the principles of art theory and how it could be applied, in a practical sense, within the studio. It has already been established in the preceding chapters that this was an important aspect of the kind of formal training that the Carracci's students received.

In Domenichino's case, Bellori, Malvasia and Passeri all mention his keen interest in theory and that he spent many hours studying the principles of perspective, mathematics, shadow projection and colour theory. As Malvasia states, Domenichino read widely to, "arouse his spirit, prompt his mind with *affetti* and waken the imagination."[19] From the evidence of his will, which has never been fully published, there is proof that Domenichino owned a number of important artistic, architectural and musical treatises.[20] Malvasia's comment implies that Domenichino was keen on studying new ideas and working through the theoretical and practical problems which beset him.

Many of Domenichino's books were handed over to his pupil Francesco Raspantino upon Domenichino's death in 1641. It would be unwise to suggest which books were willed to Raspantino by Domenichino. Any works published after the year of his death can be discounted, as they were undoubtedly purchased by Raspantino himself. A number of important texts are cited which Domenichino may have purchased for his own use, including Lomazzo's *Trattato del' arte* of 1584 and the *Idea del tempio*

della pittura, Daniello Barbaro's *La practica della perspettiva*, Scamozzi's *L'Idea dell architectura universal*, Domenico Fontana's *Della trasportatione dell obelisco vaticano* and Palladio's *Quattro libri dell architecttura*. It is more than likely that Domenichino owned copies of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* and Sannazaro's *Tarquino Superbo* which are all cited in Raspantino's Will in the Archivo de Stato in Rome (Notio Olimpiade Petrucci, A. C. Unifficio 6, 1664, 2a parte, vol. 5943, fols. 27-73, 4th April 1664. See appendix 1, folios no. 61 recto and verso and 62 recto and verso, pp. 340-343). The Will also mentions that there was number of musical manuscripts, including a book of Sicilian songs, however, no specific titles are given. The Raspantino Will also mentions other treatises, books of poetry and histories.[21]

In returning to this point, it is useful to restate that the basic practical training of the students within the Carracci *Accademia* differed from their contemporaries in the rest of Italy during the period. The major difference would have been in the methodological approach taken in teaching theory and practice. In Chapter One it was mentioned that the Carracci were probably conversant with Leonardo's Treatise on Painting, (through the edited versions published by Melzi). They were probably conversant with Lomazzo's *Trattato dell' arte della pittura*, Raphael Borghini's *Il Riposo*, Romano Alberti's *Trattato della nobilita della pittura*, Dolce's *L Aretino* and other theoretical texts on painting. The majority of these texts were well known by practising artists. They laid the basis for much of the practical and theoretical discourse on Italian painting within the period. Having already discussed the practical aspects of the Carracci's reformation of painting and its effects on Domenichino, the aim here is to examine the theoretical discourse, concerning the imitation of nature and the ideal of beauty.

The *Idea del bello*

The earliest recorded reference to the Carracci's methodological approach to the theory of imitation and the adherence to the observation nature was made by the

secretary of the Carracci's *Accademia*, Lucio Faberio, as part of his funeral eulogy to Agostino in 1603.[22] Faberio was a friend of the Carracci and a regular visitor to the *Accademia*, thus he was in a good position to describe the practices of the *Accademia.* Faberio's eulogy must be seen in the context of Renaissance epideictic rhetoric.[23] The elaborate praise lavished upon Agostino by Faberio, suggests that he was an artist of outstanding talent, and he was able to create a "judicious imitation" of nature. Faberio points to the two very different and distinctive approaches to the imitation of nature: the first, showed all the imperfections and blemishes; the second style took the very best of nature, improved and perfected it. The first approach was used by those who cared little for theory; the second for those who tried to intellectualise, comprehend and gain a clearer understanding of nature, "*non pur la parti del corpo, ma quelle dell animo*" (not indeed those things belonging to the body but of the soul or spirit). This was associated with those who were learned. Agucchi supported Faberio's views, suggesting that the aim of the artist was to depict a truthful and life-like rendition of nature. The artist however, should not slavishly copy nature, but reflect the most beautiful elements found therein.

Agucchi's association with the Carracci and Domenichino is well documented. Malvasia provided extracts from a number of letters written by Agucchi to the rather shadowy figure of the Canonico Dulicini in Bologna, in which he discusses his relationship with the Carracci.[24] Bellori also published an epitaph written by Agucchi upon Annibale's death, in 1609, in his *Vite*.[25] Bellori mentions that Annibale and Agucchi regularly discussed artistic matters and that Agucchi had a hand in the "*libretto*" of the Galleria Farnese.[26] Agucchi's championing of the Carracci's "reformation of painting," is fundamental to the formulation of artistic theory within the period. Mahon questions to what degree Agucchi's theories originated from Annibale.[27] Malvasia supports the view that Agucchi's *Trattato* "was composed with the guidance

and advice first from Annibale and then from Domenichino."[28] Mahon however questions Malvasia. He says:

> Doubtless theoretical questions must have arisen, directly or by implication, in conversations on painting between Annibale and Agucchi, but to suggest that Annibale was responsible to any great extent for the *Trattato* would put an unsupportable strain on a few casual words written at least seventy years later by a writer who, as we have frequently seen, was not over-particular in the matter of literal accuracy.[29]

It would serve little purpose for Malvasia to exaggerate Annibale's role in assisting Agucchi with the *Trattato*. One would expect Malvasia to under-play Annibale's abilities. However, Malvasia gives credit where credit is due, and showed a great deal of regard for Annibale's talents. The growing evidence, particularly the rediscovery of Annibale's copy after Titian of The Martyrdom of St Peter Martyr and his copies after Correggio suggests the Malvasia was not fabricating the facts. In Malvasia's eyes, Annibale was more than able to discuss art theory. Since Agucchi was not a practising artist, he may have learnt from Annibale something about the function of both *colore* and *disegno* as well as the *affetti* and *invenzione* from a practical and theoretical point of view.[30] As mentioned in the Introduction and Chapter Two, with Annibale's growing illness in 1605, it is probable that Agucchi turned to Domenichino for advice on matters theoretical. Mahon sees Domenichino's role as ". . . that of the professional executant whose critical views were of an unsystematized, empirical nature-intuitive [nature whose] deductions [were made] from the particular, [and] not [from] reasoned generalisations."[31]

In Mahon's study of Agucchi's *Trattato della pittura*, he develops the view that although the *Trattato* was slight in originality, it was a seminal treatise on classic-idealist art theory.[32] Agucchi's attack was levelled at two main schools of painting, that of the Carravaggisti and the mannerists. Agucchi disliked Carravaggio's overtly naturalistic style. He believed that Carravaggio's paintings lacked *invenzione*, and his

use of *chiaroscuro* was affected. Mannerism was deemed to be excessive because it was not grounded in a direct observation of nature, in particular, he criticised the use unnatural *colore e disegno*, as well as the effects of *chiaroscuro*. The importance of Agucchi's *Trattato* cannot be underestimated in determining Bellori's own views on art theory.

Bellori relied on the *Trattato* as evidence to support his argument on the *Idea* for his lecture on the third Sunday of May 1664, which in turn became a fundamental source for later texts on classic-idealist art theory.[33] Agucchi and Bellori's notion of the *idea del bello* or the ideal of beauty is crucial to the whole discourse of this reformation, "*fanno le cose non come sono, ma esser dovrebbono per essere perfettissimante mandate ad effetto*" (by depicting things not as they are but as they ought to be). The source for this concept finds its roots in Platonic and Aristotelian rhetoric. As the first major philosopher of aesthetics in Western literature, Plato established in The Republic, Timaeus, Critias, Hippias Major and Ion the central issues of the philosophy of art, in accordance with his metaphysical concepts. In the Symposium he laid out his views on the philosophy of beauty. As Albert Hofstader and Richard Kuhns discuss in Philosophies of Art and Beauty:

> Because of the tendency in classical Greek thought to interpret reality in terms drawn from life and human purposes, the genius of objects through human or divine agents as well as through natural processes, receives close attention. The metaphysical categories of both Plato and Aristotle were anchored in the realm of social reality, but the Platonic separation of social and the ideal opened the way for the ultimately mystical speculations of Neo-Platonism.[34]

Aristotle, like Plato, saw that artists were able to reconstruct nature and create an ideal form, an issue which will be further developed in the next chapter.[35] The foundation of Bellori's theory of the *idea* is rooted in the traditions of Neo-Platonic rhetoric.

Cropper in her article "'*La più bella antichità che sappiate desidrare*': History and Style in Giovan Pietro Bellori's "Lives"' in *Kunst und Kunsttheorie*, 1400-1900, (1991), states that Bellori drew heavily upon Franciscus Junius's The Ancient Art of Painting, when writing his *L'Idea*. It is important to point out that Junius, a classicist, opposed the contemporary (mannerist) inclination for exaggerated colour and design as well as the use of novelty *(novità)* Junius argued that mannerist artists did nothing but create startling effects. They became more and more stylised. For Junius, the question of artistic imagination and creation was paramount. For him, the essence of great art lay in taking risks. Central to his thesis was the idea that the artist should try to construct new and innovative ideas, which were based on a re-interpretation of nature.

Junius's book does not take a historically analytical stance on artistic production, but focuses on the debate about ancient and modern art. He goes on to discuss the Greek sculptors Phidias, Apelles, Praxiteles and Protogenes, and the issue of *novitas*. He cites that the artist cannot slavishly borrow from classical sources without some degree of discrimination, but in his view the style of the ancients is preferable to the *nova licentia* or licentious novelty of his own day. Bellori concurred with this view. Bellori's own introduction to his *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni* first published in 1672, was one of the most important statements concerning this view of *idea del bello*.

Bellori drew heavily upon Plato's theory of beauty. Plato said in The Republic that the model for all things was created by the supreme and eternal intellect of God, as ideas, which are imperfectly reflected in the ever-changing material bodies (nature).[36] The goal of the artist was to transcend natures imperfections. As nature was never wholly perfect or consistently beautiful it was inferior to the intellect. Those artists who tried to imitate nature as they saw it, were nothing more than mere technicians who slavishly copied without intellectualising the *idea del bello*.[37] On the other hand Bellori pointed out that painters such as Cavaliere Giuseppe Cesare d'Arpino abandoned the

observation of nature and created a "fantastic idea", which had no real grounding in nature. In Bellori's eyes, Annibale was hailed as having brought the art of painting back from the depths of confusion (for example the extremes of Carravaggio's naturalism and d' Arpino's mannerism) and reintroduced the *idea*, with which he rescued and restored art. Bellori writes:

> Thus when painting was drawing towards its end, other more benign influences turned toward Italy. It so pleased God that in the city of Bologna, the mistress of sciences and studies, a most noble mind was forged and through it the declining and extinguished art was reforged. He was the Annibale Carracci of whom I now write. . .[38]

Bellori believed that Annibale had attained the highest level of artistic perfection by "creating [a form of] art that hides all art".[39]

Agucchi's theory of painting, like Bellori's, focused on the artistic points of reference that the Carracci and their pupils drew on in creating their "reformation of painting." For Agucchi and Domenichino, and later Bellori, modern painting was divisible into four major schools or styles. It has already been suggested that Castiglione and Lomazzo created a specific pantheon of painters who exemplified the very best in one particular sphere of colour and painting.[40] Leonardo was seen to be the master of *sfumato*; Raphael, *unione*; Michelangelo, *cangiantismo*; and late Raphael and Del Sarto, the *chiaroscuro* mode of colouring.

Implicit in Agucchi's text is the view that the Carracci assimilated the canons of Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese's richness of *colorito*; Correggio and Parmiginino's *dolcezza*, or sweetness of colour and form; and Leonardo, del Sarto, Raphael and Michelangelo's sense of design (*disegno*) and over all structure. Did Agucchi, Domenichino and Bellori see that each school of painting offered the potential of expressing different modal qualities through colour, line and form? This may well have been the case, as Agucchi and Bellori did construct a definite order of painters and schools.

Bellori expanded upon Agucchi's ideas stating that the Roman School was exemplified by Raphael and Michelangelo, through their assimilation of classical and antique sculpture which most closely approximated ancient art. The Venetian School was headed by Titian, who imitated the beauty of nature as it was seen and perceived. Correggio's work was seen as the exemplar of the style of Lombardy, through a greater imitation of nature in a "tender, easy, and equally noble fashion;" Leonardo and Andrea del Sarto were seen to exemplify the finesse of detail and accuracy, along with remarkable skill.[41]

Bellori's discussion then leads on to an analysis of Annibale's ability for imitating the "*più perfette idee*" and the "*arte più emendata de' Greci.*"[42] Bellori writes that not even Glycon (who supposedly created the Farnese Hercules) and Apollonius (who created the Torso Belveder) reached such a level of perfection as did Annibale in his *termini* in the Farnese Gallery. Annibale's interest in the expressive powers of sculpture was not forgotten by Domenichino, who, as it has already been suggested, regularly drew from classical sources.[43]

Disegno Versus *Colore*

It has been discussed that the Carracci drew upon the very best forms and modes of *disegno e colore* from each school, as well as antique sculpture. Thus in Agucchi and Bellori's eyes both Annibale and Domenichino's art reflected the antithesis of ideal beauty. They championed a form of art that expressed the *vero* (or truth) and *verosimile* (or verisimilitude) of things as they were really seen, conveyed through "*buon disegno e colorito*". It is worth reiterating again the distinguishing factors of *disegno* and *colore*, since these terms are fundamental to the whole debate in this chapter. *Disegno* functioned in terms of the line and form of the work of art. It was the skeleton upon which the colour was added building the muscles and tissue, fleshing out

the painting and giving it life. *Colore* could not function without the skeleton of *disegno* to hold it together.

Mahon pointed out that Agucchi's stance was a justification for the Carracci's art.[44] The Carracci "reformation of painting" came about because they sought to assimilate only the best elements from past masters, creating a new and modern art which was based on an idealised imitation, hence the finest contemporary style. This new style combined aspects of antique art along with Roman *disegno* and Lombardian *colorito*.

Domenichino's letter to Francesco Angeloni (an important member of the Roman *letterati* and acquaintance of Agucchi) in late 1632, establishes his own view on the concept of the *idea del bello*. This letter further proves that Domenichino owned a number of treatises on painting, particularly works by Alberti and Lomazzo, which he left in Rome when he moved to Naples. His insistence that he had a copy of "the discourse that Monsignor Agucchi wrote at the time we lived together. [In which he] aimed to differentiate between and reflect on the masters and styles of Rome, Venice, Lombardy, and also of Tuscany"[45] implies that he was considering theoretical matters anew, possibly in the light of his contact with Zaccolini. Although Domenichino never began writing the proposed treatise, his letter to Angeloni gives us a brief glimpse of his interest in matters theoretical. It is worth quoting the letter at length as it substantiates Domenichino's own views on *disegno* and *colore*:

> I do not know if it is Lomazzo who writes that *disegno* is the substance (*materia*) and *colore* the form (*forma*) of painting; to me it seems just the opposite since *disegno* provides its being and there is nothing that has form without its definite boundaries (*termini precisi*); nor do I mean *disegno* as a simple delineation and measure of quality; and after all, colour without line has no existence at all. It seems to me also that Lomazzo says that a man drawn from nature would not be recognised solely by his contours, but only with the addition of natural

> colour, and this, too, is false, given that Appelles only with charcoal drew a portrait of a person he had met at a banquet and he was immediately recognisable with the amazement of King Ptolemy- and it is enough to cite sculpture, which has no colour at all. He also says that to make a perfect painting, it would have Adam and Eve, Adam drawn by Michelangelo and painted by Titian; Eve drawn by Raphael and painted by Correggio. Now Your Excellency sees wherein he who errs in first principles fails.[46]

Domenichino knew both of Lomazzo's publications, the *Trattato dell' arte*, and the *Idea del tempio della pittura*, well enough to paraphrase the story of Appelles' *disegno*.[47] Spear believes that Domenichino's account of the Appelles legend is accurate. He suggests that the thrust of the letter was a defence of *disegno* as laying the foundation for art-making.[48] Domenichino seems to be implying that *disegno* and *forma* are directly related since "nothing has form without definite boundaries" and that "colour without line has no existence at all." However, this view is questionable; Kemp has suggested that Domenichino does not understand Lomazzo's concept of *forma*.[49] Domenichino's attack on Lomazzo's eclectic recipe for the construction of the perfect painting highlights the whole debate of central Italian theory and that of northern Italy, where *disegno* was believed to be the foundation for the production of a painting, versus *colore*.[50] Domenichino suggests that *colore* cannot function without the foundation of *disegno* to hold it together. This is partly untrue as drawing in chalk, charcoal, pencil or ink allows the artist various options for developing the *forma*. The artist is able to convey the idea of a figure or landscape not only by using outlines, but also by using graduated washes in ink. The artist is therefore able to suggest through the use of lines, and washes of different density, colouristic effects. Thus the *forma* can be completely constructed by using layers of wash. For Domenichino, *disegno* laid the foundations for colour.

Spear points out that "Rensselaer Lee convincingly argues that Domenichino was not addressing the question of an eclectic method *per se*, but rather denying a

prescription that makes colour equal to line. . .."[51] This denial seems to be consistent with the general theme of the letter.

It could be said that Domenichino seems to place the greatest emphasis on *disegno*. His method of drawing shows how he considered colour in terms of *chiaroscuro*. Rarely did Domenichino use washes of ink, since he seems to have preferred drawing with chalk. He used a quick, loose style of drawing for the majority of his preparatory works, as can be seen in his studies for the boatman in The Calling of Sts. Peter and Andrew for the fresco in Sant' Andrea della Valle (plates 46, 47, 48). Bold strokes of outline are then cross-hatched and modulated in such a fashion as to suggest textural qualities which give a sense of roundedness to the forms. He would then highlight areas with white chalk, emphasising the different effects of light and shadow. Since the modulation of the cross hatching and lines varies both in size and density of pressure, colouristic effects come into play. Domenichino or Agucchi's reaction against Lomazzo's view on *colore* is not at all surprising, considering that the Carracci's "reformation of painting" was based on observation of colour in nature. The Carracci obviously gave their students formal (theoretical) instruction in colour and design. Domenichino's own interests in theoretical matters imply that he saw painting as being cerebral, rather than emotionally driven, since he stated in another letter to Angeloni that "the work constructed in the mind"[52] naturally surpasses its physical manifestation. Therefore Domenichino, through his observations of nature, antique sculpture and High Renaissance art, selected and assembled the best elements and recreated them in his mind's-eye. Thus he was able to create the perfect *idea del bello*.

Invenzione

The issue of *invenzione* is important within this context, and needs to be addressed more fully here. Malvasia shows overwhelming bias for Ludovico as the leading light of the academy, particularly with respect to his fertile ability for "*invenzione*;" and argues that he was better his cousins:

> Ludovico was richer and more productive in the *invenzione*, and no one knew better than he how to discover the most fitting and individual poses for the actions depicted.[53]

Malvasia also acknowledged Domenichino's power of *invenzione* and *affetti*, particularly in The Flagellation of St. Andrew in the Oratorio di Sant Andrea opposite San Gregorio Magno in Rome.[54]

For Bellori, however, Annibale was no less gifted in *invenzione* and Domenichino's methods were derived from his study under Annibale.

> Sometimes he [Annibale] was delayed in his art not being able to succeed in capturing in his work the perfection he had in mind.[55]

Malvasia also mentions Annibale's methodological approach:

> . . .first one conceives of a quite new and suitable pose that is beautiful and appropriate for the situation, pleasing and understandable. . .[then] one dashes off some sketches and from an unclothed model draws this or that arm or leg part by part in that position or point of view. Then one puts it all together and transfers it to cartoon. . .[56]

Domenichino's adherence to this process of drawing is well documented. Domenichino placed the greatest emphasis on artistic *invenzione* or the imaginative content.

Elizabeth Cropper pointed out in an oral discussion that Domenichino was often able to conceptualise figural poses without the aid of a model, something which as Cropper suggested was unusual. His vast outpouring of drawings shows that Domenichino consciously worked through ideas, trying to capture the *Conceptus Imaginatio* (imaginative conception) of the work. Why Bellori introduced this term into the frontispiece of his *Vita* on Domenichino, is unclear. However, he seems to be suggesting that Domenichino was above all an artist of fertile imagination and able to conceive of new and exciting ideas for his paintings. Domenichino was praised by Bellori and Malvasia, above all, for his *invenzione*, interpretation of figural poses and

disegno.[57] The implication of Bellori's introduction to Domenichino's *Vita* points to Domenichino's adherence to art as something intellectually based on the imitation of nature and the perfection of its effects, to create the *idea del bello*. This is not to imply that Domenichino slavishly copied nature. His conscious and methodical approach to the process of creating a work of art is bound by his attempts to exhaust all the possible options for creating the perfect painting.

A drawing in the Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum (inventory no. P. F. 329) shows a number of students taking a life drawing class, among the students listed are Guido Reni, Lanfranco and Domenichino, as well as Annibale (plate 49).[58] The drawing probably dates from 1595, the year that Domenichino entered the Carracci's Accademia, and just before Annibale left for Rome. This work helps to support the view that life drawing was an important aspect in the training of young artists within the Carracci's *Accademia*. What is evident is that the Carracci and their pupils were deeply committed to observing the world around them. A drawing in the British Museum by Giovanni Angelo Canini shows a number of students drawing from a model in Domenichino's studio in Rome (inventory no. 1946-7-13-1708), (plate 50).[59] Domenichino, was therefore, following the same tradition of using live models. Annibale regularly went out onto the streets of Bologna and drew from life, as can be seen in a series of prints by Simon Guillian (after drawings by Annibale) known as the *Arti di Bologna*.

The number of drawings attributed to the Carracci is enormous. Those of Domenichino run to some 1800 held at Windsor Castle,[60] and approximately 1000 in the Louvre, as well as collections held at Chatsworth, the Wallace Collection in London and numerous other private and public collections. This clearly shows that drawing was an important part of the Carracci's curriculum in training their pupils.

Passeri states that, "the Carracci introduced the type of drawing of the nude that is called an 'academy.'"[61] Passeri's comment would imply that drawing from live models played an important role. The number of complete and technically polished drawings by

the Carracci and their students (both within private and public collections) clearly demonstrates that many hours were devoted towards this approved method. Therefore, formal lessons in drawing played an integral part in the education of the Carracci students.

From the numerous drawings and paintings that are attributable to the Carracci and their students it is clear that attention was principally focused on:

> (the) drawing of human forms and on symmetry and perspective and the reason for light and shade. Anatomy and architecture were taught. Histories fables and inventions, their presentation and good methods of painting them. . ..[62]

This view point was literally portrayed by Pietro Testa, (a student of Domenichino and Pietro da Cortona)[63] in his etching *Il Liceo della Pittura* (plate 51). The majority of Testa's original writings on art survive in a large note-book known as the *Trattato di Pittura*, now held in the Städtischen Kunstsammlungen in Düsseldorf.[64] From the evidence of the notes, it seems that Testa drew much of his inspiration from a number of key texts, for example Cartari's *Le imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi*, published in Venice in 1556 and Daniel Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius's *De Architectura* first published in 1567, as well as Ripa's *Iconologia*, published in Venice in 1645. Testa plundered the *Iconologia* not only assimilating ideas from the text but also drew figures from the plates, which he in turn used for his etching of the *Liceo della Pittura*.[65] The etching shows the Temple of Philosophy which he based on Raphael's School of Athens, here conceived as a school of painting. At the forefront of the image on the far left and right stand two figures, representing bound Theory and blind Practice. As Goldstein discusses: "Several young artists mount the stairs to the temple, aiming to join theory to practice, the inscription states, by anchoring both in pure intelligence of mathematics".[66] In Testa's view, artists must be grounded in a knowledge of the abstract and theoretical thought. Painters could not simply practise their art without a knowledge of theory, a view which was championed by Agucchi in

his *Trattato de Pittura* and further developed by Bellori in his introduction to *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori, e architetti moderni*. Testa's manuscript and the etching of the *Liceo della Pittura* are important evidence for an artistic tradition based on a balanced study of both theory and practice, initiated within the Carracci *Accademia* and further developed by their students. This was further highlighted by Luigi Lanzi who observed in his History of Painting in Italy (1795-6):

> To write of the Carracci and their followers is virtually to write the history of painting in all Italy for two centuries.[67]

Domenichino's early educational experiences within the Carracci *Accademia*, and later in Rome under the guidance of Annibale, were of primary importance in laying the foundations of his subsequent career. For Domenichino, like the Carracci, painting was grounded in a conscious study of both theory and practice, which found its expression in the writings of Agucchi and Bellori. Only by assimilating the best elements and drawing upon different modal styles from past masters of the High Renaissance, classical sculpture and nature itself, could the artist create the *idea del bello*. For Domenichino, the foundations of good artistic practice was rooted in theory, which he learnt in the Carracci *Accademia*.

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[1] On the 27th of February 1566 Paleotti was appointed Bishop of Bologna.

[2] Paleotti seems to have been particularly interested in drawing in the whole population in initiating his reforms in Bologna by appealing to the general population's civic sense of duty towards the poor, orphans and sick. For Paleotti, contact with his public was of primary importance, since he was able to administer advice and assistance to those in need. His mandate also included education for the poor and also a reform of the universities administration and education methods. See, "Art, Science and Nature in Bologna", Giuseppe Olmi, and Paolo Prodi, The Age of Correggio and the Carracci, 1986, pp.213-235.

[3] Annibale Carracci in Bologna, 1974, In particular see, chapter 7, 'Paleotti's "*Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*"', pp. 121-155.

[4] ibid "Even in Bologna, however, there was no single painter who followed Paleotti's directions closely". Ch. 8, p. 145. This quote is however some what out of context, Boschloo points to the fact that most artists followed a set pattern concerning the iconography. He uses the example of the swooning Virgin at the foot of Christ's cross as being inaccurate in relation to the Biblical account.

[5] *Discorso* "*Dell' officio e fine del pittore cristiano, a similitudine degli oratori*". Ch. XXI, Book I. This quote is a reflection of the Ciceronian credo in respect of Rhetoric, "*Optimus est enim orator qui dicendo animus audientium et docet et delectat et permovet. Docere debitum est, delectare honorarium*

promovare necessarium." "For he is the best orator who, when he speaks, instructs the minds of his listeners, gives delight and stirs the emotions. It is the duty to teach, an honour to delight, an obligation to stir the emotions."

[6] Annibale Carracci in Bologna, 1974, In particular see, chapter 7, 'Paleotti's "*Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane,*'" pp. 121-155.

[7] See Laurence Duggan's article "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate,'" Word and Image, vol. 5, no. 3. 1989, pp. 227-251.

[8] *Discorso* "*Che le imagini cristiane hanno riguardo a Dio, a noi stressi et al prossimo. . . ammaestrando elle l'intelletto, movendo la volonta e riffescando la memoria delle cose divine, con produrre insieme negli animi nostri quei maggiori e piu efficaci effetti che si possono sentire d'alcuna altra cosa la mondo, rappresentandoci inanzi agli occhi et insieme imprimendo nei nostri cuori atti eroici e magnanimi, or di pazienza, or di giustizia et or di castita, di mansuetudine, di dispreggio del mondo, di misericordia e d'altri simili. Talche in uno instante causa in noi e disediro della virtu et orrore del visio. . ..*" Ch. XXI, Book I

[9] *Discorso*, "*Ma l'esseri con vivi colori qua posto sotto gli le pur vero che tanto accresce la virgine combattuta e nell altor lato Christo inchiodato, egli e di legno o do marmo.*" Ch. XX, book I

[10] ibid. "*Et in cio si potranno con orrore utilmente figurare quelle cose che piu siano atte a movere il cuore et eccitare divozione.*" Ch. XX, Book I.

[11] ibid, Ch. XX, Book I. Also see, The Age of Correggio and the Carracci (Emilian Painting in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), 1986, p. 225.

[12] The *Discorso* was first printed in a provisional edition in 1582, by Alessandro Benacci. For a full account of the history of the *Discorso* see, Boschloo, 1974, p. 121.

[13] Aldrovandi held a personal library of some 3500 publications, on a variety of subjects including animals, plants, fossils, and minerals. For Aldrovandi his method of study was based on an empirical approach. Only through a direct knowledge of the objects could he come to gain an understanding of what and how they were created, worked and its use.

[14] See Boschloo, 1974, pp. 114-120. Also see Briganti, 1986, pp.213-236.

[15] Malvasia, 1841, p. 275; translation from Posner, 1971, p. 34. See Goldstein for a further analysis and criticism of Malvasia, 1988, p. 8.

[16] The notion of the "classical" and Baroque style used in present day usage, was first established by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, in 1763, in his publication *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*. Although he did not coin the terms, which came into use in the mid-nineteenth century, he was the first writer to make a clear association between Egyptian and Etruscan, as well as Greek and Roman sculpture. In the Renaissance and Baroque, there was no clear distinction between Grecian or Roman art, let alone any understanding of the historiographical development in terms of stylistic change. Like-wise the terminology used to describe the differences in style during the Baroque, became part of the general language of art history which was first codified by Heinrich Wöfflin in *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* of 1915. See Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting, Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 24-25.

[17] The basic principals of the Carracci teaching methods would not have been dissimilar to those established during the early Quattrocento. See, Goldstein, 1988, pp. 38-48.

[18] *Idea del tempo della pittura*, chapter VIII, p. 34.

[19] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II , pp. 220-1 and also see, p. 239.

[20] Notio Olimpiade Petrucci, A. C. Ufficio 6, 1664, 2a parte, vol. 5943, fols. 27-73, 4th April 1664. Archivo di Stato, Rome.

[21] For a comprehensive list of titles see Spear, 1982, pp. 26-27. Also see the appendix 7, pp. 342-345.

[22] Lucio Faberio was a member of the Bolognese literary Academy of the *Gelati.* For a brief introduction on Faberio, see Mahon, 1947, pp. 136-138. Goldstein, (1988), questions the validity of Faberio's eulogy. He mentions:

"Faberio's remarks are especially suspect because the Renaissance eulogy was dedicated to multiple virtues and learning of the deceased and cited, as a matter of course, a long list of intellectual accomplishments, the same basic subjects being mentioned each time: mastery of the seven liberal arts and history and philosophy, with poetry and theology often mentioned as well." p. 39.

[23] Cicero developed the foundations of Epideictic rhetoric in *Ad Herennium*. He states in Book I, "There are three types of causes which the speaker must treat: Epidectic, Deliberative and Judicial. The epidectic kind is devoted to the praise or censure of some particular person." Trans. Harry Caplin, Harvard

University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1989, p. 5.Goldstein writes, "The epideictic was different from other forms of rhetoric. It was intended not to incite listeners to a specific course of action but rather to impress ideas upon them; it was to "display" oratory, in which great importance was attached to the form of oration. the standard form was the *econmium*, the body of which would consist of a summery of the life of the person being praised, so that epideictic rhetoric was a form of biography." 1988, p15. Bellori's Lives and Malvasia's *Felsina Pittrice* must also be seen as springing from the same tradition of epideictic rhetoric.

[24] Malvasia, Felsina, 1678, I, p. 405, p. 463, p. 453, p. 445, p. 517, p. 521, p. 459. See Mahon, 1947, pp. 111-154, who gives a brief outline of Agucchi's life history and his relationship with the Carracci and Domenichino. Little seems to be known of the Canonico Dulicini or who he was. The earliest biography written on Agucchi was first published in 1644 by Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, *Iacobi Philippi Tomasini Patavini Episcopi Aemoniensis Elogia Verorum Literis e Sapientia Illustrium*, Padua, pp. 13-28.

[25] Bellori, 1672, p. 78.

[26] Mahon suggests that Bellori was the first of the Carracci biographers to mention this rumour. "But whatever share Agucchi may have had in advising the subject-matter (and I agree with Prof. Tietze's view that he is unlikely to have played more than an incidental part in formulating it), his artistic theories were certainly put on paper after the completion of the *Galleria*." Mahon, 1947, pp. 115-116.

[27] ibid, pp. 116-117.

[28] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 162. "*monsig. Agucchi, colla scorta, e consiglio prima di Annibale, poi del suo Domenichino intesseua.*" Also see, II, p. 239.

[29] Mahon, 1947, p. 117.

[30] Agucchi made a lengthy study of Annibale's Sleeping Venus (Chantilly), in which he discussed the use of *affetti* or the gestures and expression that communicate the soulful feeling of the senses.
Agucchi's main point in writing the treatise concerned the final product of painting, and secondly the intellectual process of its creation. This seems to be in direct opposition to Domenichino's own methodology and theoretical approach in thinking through the different stages of creative production before finally putting his ideas down on the canvas.

[31] ibid, p. 119.

[32] ibid, p. 117-119

[33] Cropper discusses Bellori's view on the *idea del bello* in her article "'*La piu bella anticha che sappiate desiderare*' History and Style in Giovan Pietro Bellori's 'Lives,'" *Künst und Künsttheorie* 1400-1900, Weisbaden, 1991, pp. 145-173. In particular see p.149. I am indebted to Morten Steen Hansen for introducing me to this material.

[34] Albert Hofstadter and Richard Khuns, Philosophies of Beauty and Art, Selected Readings in Aesthetics from Plato to Heidegger, 1976, p. xiv.

[35] In 1924 Erwin Panofsky published his now seminal study on Plato's Dialogues. David Summers picks up on this theme in his publication The Judgement of Sense, pp. 1-2, which places the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions of the idea of beauty within the context of Renaissance theory.

[36] Bellori, 1672, pp. 1-3

[37] ibid, p. 3. "*Quel sommo ed eterno intelletto autore della natura nel fabbricare l'opere sue marauigliose, altamente in se stesso riguardando, costituì le prima forme chiamate Idee, in modo che ciascuna specie espressa fù da quella prima idea, formandosene in mirabile contesto delle cose crate. Ma li celesti corpi sopra la luna, non sottoposti a cangiamento, restorno per sempre belli e ordinati, qualmente dalle misurate sferee dallo splendore degli aspetti loro veniamo a conoscerli perpetumente giustissimi e veghissimi. Al contrerio auuienede' corpi sublinari soggetti alle alterationie l la bruttezza; e eccellenti, nulladimeno per l iqualita della materia si confonde, come vidiamo nell' infinita delformità e spropotione che sono in noi. Il perche il nobili Pittori e nella mente vn esempio di bellezza superiore, e in esso regardando emendano la natura senza colpa di colore e di lineamento.*"

[38] The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci, trans. Catherine Enggass, 1968, p. 6.

[39] Bellori, 1672, pp. 3-4.

[40] Castigilone, The Book of the Courtier, trans. George Bull, Penguin Classics, 1976, p. 82. Lomazzo, 1590 *Idea del tempo della pittura*.

[41] Bellori, 1672, pp. 1-4.

[42] Cropper and Dempsey have suggested in Nicholas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting, that within Bellori's intellectual and cultural circles, there was a conscious study of antique sculpture, and in particular a desire to try and codify the different styles. As pointed out in footnote 15 it was not until 1763

when Winkelmann published his *Geschichte der Künst des Altertums*, that there was a fundimental study of Grecian and Roman art. However, Cropper and Dempsey suggest that Poussin and Bellori, both had a good understanding of the stylistic development of ancient sculpture and architecture, since Poussin was known to have tried to be as exacting in portraying figures in the correct setting and costume appropriate to the subject matter at hand. Thus it can be said that Bellori's comments concerning Annibale's attempts to better upon Glycon, or the Greek style, is partly correct.

[43]Domenichino drew heavily upon a whole range of classical sculpture particularly for his fresco cycle in Sant' Andrea della Valle. See Chapter Six, sub heading Domenichino's Inspiration for the Pendentives.

[44] Mahon 1947, pp. 121-22.

[45] ibid . Bellori, 1672, p. 359.

[46] Bellori, 1672 p. 359. "*Non si se sia il Lomazzo, che sriva che il disegno è la materia,* [and] *il colore la forma della pittura; à me pare tutto li contrario, mentre il disegno dà l'essere, e non vi èniente che habbia forma fuori dè suoi termini precisi; nè intendo del disegno in quanto è semplice termine, e misura della quantita';* [and] *in fine il colore senza il disegno non ha susistenza acluna. Mi pare ancora che dica il Lomazzo che un huomo disegnato al naturale, non sarebbe conoscito per il solo disegno; ma ben si con l'aggiunta del colore simile, e questo è ancor falso; poiche Appele col solo carbone disegno il ritratto di colui, che l'haueua introdotto al conuito, e fù subito riconoscinto, con istupore dal Rè Tolomeo, e tanto basta alla scoltura, che non hà colore alcuno. Dice ancora che a fare un quadro perfetto sarebbe Adamo* [and] *Eva. l' Adamo disegnato da Michel Angelo, colorito da Tiziano: l' Eva disegnata da Raffaele, e colorita dal Correggio hor veda V. S. dove va' àcadere chi erra ne principis*". Domenichino forgot that Adam was to have the proportions drawn by Raphael instead of Michelangelo. For further reading on the notions of "*disegno*" see Marratta's view as mentioned by Bellori, ed. 1976, p. 632.

[47] Mahon, 1947, p. 120. The story of Apelles is derived from Pliny's Natural History. Also see Spear, 1982, p. 29-30.

[48] Spear, 1982, pp. 29-30.

[49] Martin Kemp, "'Equal Excellences'; Lomazzo and the explanation of individual style in the visual arts," Renaissance Studies, vol I, No I, March 1997, pp. 1-26.

[50] See, Goldstein, Art Bulletin, Dec 1991, pp. 641- 53.

[51] Spear, 1982, p 30. See also Lee, 1951, p. 211.

[52] Bellori, 1672, p. 358-9.

[53] Bellori, 1672, p. 81.

[54] Malvasia did however, mention that he preferred Guido Reni's St. Andrew Lead to Martyrdom on the opposite wall in the chapel of St. Andrew next to San Gregorio Magno in Rome, See Chapter Two, sub heading, A New Artistic Vocabulary.

[55] Malvasia, ed. 1841, I, p. 346. This quote is in reference to Tacconi and Albani's amazement at the frescoes in the Farnese Gallery, and their annoyance that it was no miracle but the result of methodological planning. Also see Martin, 1965, pp. 220-21.

[56] ibid.

[57] Bellori mentions in his *Vita* on Lanfranco, that he believed the artist to be equal in *invenzione* to Domenichino, but it does not mean that Lanfranco's agitated style, like his contemporary Guercino, was not significantly different in style, in particular its use of asymmetrical design, sweetness of colour and the effects of *chiaroscuro*. Bellori, 1672, p. 366.

[58] Düsseldorf, Staatliche Kunstakademie, Inv. Carracci, 189 P. F. 329. Dempsey has remarked that the writing is probably a later addition possibly added in the late 17th or early 18th century and should be regarded with scepticism. See, Goldstein, 1988, pp. 51 and 56, who postulates that the additions were done by some one associated with the scene.

[59] Life study in an academy, British Library, Inv. 1946-7-13-1708, 309+240mm.

[60] The collection a Windsor Castle is the most extensive of Domenichino's drawings. It was purchased by James Adam in 1762, from the Albani collection, for the sum of nine thousand crowns, for the library of King George III. For a further history of the collection see, Pope-Hennessy, The Drawings of Domenichino at Windsor Castle, 1948, pp. 9-11.

[61] Passeri, ed 1934, p. 22. For further discussion, see A. S. Harris "Drawings by Andrea Sacchi Additions and Problems", pp. 384-91.

[62] Bellori, 1672, p. 93.

[63] See Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 182 and Baldinucci *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua*, Florence, 1847, p 310.
[64] It is evident from the Düsseldorf manuscript that Testa did not write the treatise as a coherent whole. It seems that the thirty two folios were drawn together to form the manuscript as the pages vary in size and shape, and there is no sequential order of page numbers. A second copy made in the eighteenth century survives in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome. This copy does not follow the original completely, but is useful as a guide since the textual differences are not significantly great.
[65] Cropper, The Ideal of Painting (Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Note Book), Princeton, 1984. Also see Cropper's article "Bound Theory and Blind Practice: Pietro Testa's notes on Painting and the *Liceo della Pittura*", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1971, pp. 262-296.
[66] Goldstein, 1988, p. 44.
[67] "The Carracci Reform of Painting" ed. Charles Dempsey, The Art of Correggio and the Carracci, p. 237.

Chapter Four

The Sound of Colour

> Almost everyone declares that the symmetry of parts towards each other and towards a whole, besides, a certain charm of colour, constitutes the beauty recognised by the eye, that in visible things, as indeed in all else, universally, the beautiful thing is essentially symmetrically patterned.[1]

So far, this study has focused on Domenichino's education within the Carracci's *Accademia*, and raised a number of points concerning his artistic development, while he was in Bologna, and later in Rome under the guidance of Annibale Carracci. Attention has been drawn to the fact that the Carracci's reformation of painting was as much about drawing upon different artistic modes and styles of painting, as it was about rejecting of the excesses of colourism, *chiaroscuro* and design, exemplified by the mannerists. It has also shown to what extent the focus of Domenichino's art changed after the death of Annibale in 1609, and in particular his use of colour. The third chapter began with an analysis of Cardinal Gabriel Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*. It has been suggested that the Carracci's reformation echoed many of the principles laid down in the *Discorso*. It was pointed out that this reformation was linked to the Carracci's desire to re-evaluate the art of the past masters of classical sculpture and the High Renaissance, as well as a sound grounding in the study of nature, the practical and theoretical principles of which were reflected in Giovanni Battista Agucchi's fragmentary *Trattato della pittura*.

In this chapter, the aim is to consider in greater detail the concept of ideal beauty (or the *idea del bello*) in its widest sense. It will be shown that the foundations of ideal beauty are tied to a complex theoretical philosophy, concerning God's construction of the universe, man, nature, proportion, numerology and mathematics. The concept of ideal beauty first established in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, laid the foundations of Western art theory, taught in the schools and universities of Europe. The question

which needs to be addressed in this chapter, and one central to this thesis, is whether Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Plotinus, Augustine, Alberti, Leonardo or Zaccolini's writings on harmonic proportion can tell us anything about the relationship between the modal systems of colour and music.

Domenichino, as we have seen, had a good grounding in the texts of Plato and Aristotle, taught in the *Scuola di Grammatica*. Undoubtedly within the milieu of the Carracci's *Accademia*, and under the guidance of Agucchi in Rome, that he began to take an interest in the theoretical links between colour and music. Though Agucchi is not known to have shown any particular regard for music, his interest in mathematics and astronomy, presupposes that he was conversant with Pythagorean ideas of the musical scale and how it was ultimately linked to the *Harmonia Mundana*. This strongly suggests that Domenichino's own understanding of colour theory and practice may be linked to his experiments in music.

The foundation of the modes of imitation between music/art/poetry theory was first established by Plato in The Republic and Critias, by Aristotle in Politics, De Caelo and Poetics, and by Plotinus in the Ennead. Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus did not see that colour and music were bound by any obvious analogical relationship. Their discussion was directed to the function of the "Arts" and how they were related to each other. Their theories laid much of the basis of Western thinking about art and music from classical times through the Medieval period to the 17th century.

Music theory and practices in the Renaissance were changing at an ever increasing rate, unlike colour theory, which still relied heavily upon Aristotelian principles. There are few documents or treatises, apart from Gregorio Comanini's *Il Figino* (1591), which discuss music and colour as correlative in a purely theoretical context.[2] Therefore, this study begins by looking at the relevant aesthetic theories in a chronological order, from Plato and Aristotle to Zaccolini, because the nature of colour/music theory needs to be examined to prove this hypothesis. Included in the

discussion will be an analysis of the numerical principles of music and the musical scale and how they can be linked with colour scales. Another point which will be drawn into the argument, concerns aerial perspective and the use of light and shadow. To support the argument, a number of documents and manuscripts will be introduced with which Domenichino was conversant.

Plato, Pythagoras and Aristotle

Plato and Aristotle held that the microcosm representing man was part of the macrocosm of the earth and cosmos. This idea was transmitted into Judaic-Christian theology and philosophy. The Universe was seen as a super-mechanical construction. God, in both the classical and in the Judaic-Christian sense, was the ultimate mover of the mechanism, creating the cyclic movement of the spheres. Thus God was the architect of time and geometric nature which was constructed on the basis of mathematical harmonies. God imbued man with knowledge and sight, which in a post-Edenic world was flawed. Nature is the only true element of God's creation and seen as divine excellence in which divine beauty is in accord with music and harmony. If beauty is seen as a principle of nature, it must therefore originate in the excellence of God who ultimately created the universe. God created man within his universe and imbued him not only with an understanding of beauty and harmony, but also with the mathematical proportions of his own created structure, according to strict numerical and proportional ratios. Aristotle similarly saw that beauty, including the human form, was ordered and symmetrical, based on Pythagorean principles of mathematical and numerical ratios.

Arithmetic had long been studied as part of the *quadrivium* which formed the basis of the educational curriculum, both in the classical world and Renaissance. Pythagoras, in many respects, was the first to establish and codify the relationship between the four subjects of the *quadrivium*. In Chapter One it was pointed out that Nicomachus of Gerasa's Introduction to Arithmetic, was one of the most important and

basic texts used in the *Scuola di Grammatica* during the mid sixteenth century in Europe.[3] To Nicomachus, Pythagoreanism was not simply a mathematically-based philosophy, it offered a synthesis of science and religion, combining exact mathematical theory with a belief that the harmony apparent in the cosmos, *Harmonia Mundana*, was the same as that which bound together the soul and body of man. The four mathematical disciplines, which he called the *methodoi*, reflected the paths or methods for proceeding upwards in a steady progress towards higher knowledge. The standard Neo-Pythagorean order was arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy which are described in a text ascribed to Pythagoras himself in the *Theologoumena Arithmeticae* as "steps to wisdom trodden in this ordered progression."[4] Domenichino's own educational experiences at the *Scuola di Grammatica* would naturally have incorporated a synthesis of such ideas. It will be seen in the next chapter that it was his interest in musical theory and practice, and in particular, the Grecian modal system, which is one of the most obvious aspects of his early education, not only at the *Scuola di Grammatica* but also under the guidance of Agostino Carracci. The whole tradition of the Grecian modal system was based on the number-theory established by Pythagoras, who is attributed with discovering that the relative pitch of musical sounds depends on the lengths of string or pipes.

Domenichino would have understood that Pythagorean musicology was based on a fundamental and wholly correct observation that intervals can be precisely expressed as numerical ratios. The mathematical relation established followed the lines of 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 8, 27 and so on. Although this sequence may well seem illogical, if divided, we see the relationship as:

$$1 \quad \begin{matrix} 2 - 4 - 8 - 32 \\ 3 - 9 - 27 - 243 \end{matrix}$$

Therefore a fifth will equal 3:2, a fourth 4:3, and an octave 2:1. If a string is stopped at two fifths of its length, the pitch note will be sounded a perfect fifth higher than the open string. To play an octave higher, one must stop the string half way up. A fifth and a

fourth together add up to an octave, which in mathematical terms is found by multiplying the ratios, 3/2, 4/3 = 2/1. A whole tone can be expressed as 9/8, that is, the difference between a fourth and a fifth as 3/2-4/3 = 9/8. The Pythagoreans calculated that neither the concordant ratios nor the ratio for a whole tone can be equally divided without an irrational number, which was ruled out as inadmissible, a claim earlier made by Plato. The proportion 9:8 has the same proportionality as 18:16, however the proportion 17 is not the half-way point to 18 and 16 since 17/16 is greater than 18/17. By utilising this system, the basic ratio of 9:8 does not provide the precise mean in terms of a whole number. It would also follow that the six whole tones in the proportion of 9:8 cannot, when added together, gives an interval that is precisely in the ratio of 2:1.[5] By a small but mathematically and aurally significant amount, the sum of the six whole tones exceeds the concord of the octave concord. Furthermore, the Pythagoreans argued that the semitone is not really half a tone. The Grecian modal system was based on the tetrachord, which is a group of four tones. The diatonic tetrachord contains, in descending order, two whole tones plus a fraction of a tone which is conventionally known as a semitone. However, in natural, as opposed to tempered tuning, it is rather less than half a whole tone. If the so-called half tone ended in the middle, it was chromatic. For example the notation would be as follows:

a, b, c, d
d, e, f, g.[6]

The original analysis of consonance's and dissonance's spring out of a theoretical understanding of the mathematical principles inherent in musical ratios. The original discovery of consonance's of fourth, fifth and octave are the result of simple numerical ratios attributed to Pythagoras,[7] but it was Plato who drew up the first conclusive table of how the ratios of the spheres and the numerical relations were related.[8] Plato's "Myth of Er" in Book X, of The Republic, was the earliest account of a synaesthetic colour-music experience, in which the eight spheres were specifically coloured and

accompanied by eight pitches each sung by a siren, to produce a single harmony. However, each of the eight colours were not pure.

Whatever lies behind the legend of Pythagoras's discovery there is no doubt about the great antiquity of two elements in Pythagorean theory: the concept of a cosmic musical harmony and the veneration for the triangular number ten. The group of numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, whose sum is ten, give a perfect triangle. For the Pythagoreans it was no mere convention, or the fact that we use our fingers to count on, that leads people to divide numbers into hundreds tens and units, but a profound insight into the very structure of reality. From this fact that 10 is produced by a triangle base of 4, Pythagoreans drew their inferences about the importance of the musical tetrachord, the fundamental interval of the fourth on which tuning a lyre or cithera was based. Aristoxenus, who was a follower of Aristotle, took no notice of theoretical ratios and preferred to express differences in pitch in terms of quantity rather than quality.[9] He understood intervals of pitch as analogous to segments of a line, a view encouraged by the geometric construction of numbers as linear. From this it was easy to see that the differences between musical notes are like the differences between colours of a rainbow, a continuum where one note gradually merges into the next. If the seven colours of the rainbow are placed next to the seven notes of the musical scale, this concept is easily perceived. By dividing the whole tones into half, one is able to create half tones both colouristically and musically. Therefore, by dividing the half tones further, one ends up with multiple divisions of colour and musical quarter tones. In this way Domenichino would have undoubtedly understood the principles of the relationship between colour and music; his keen interest in the Grecian modal system, based on the Pythagorean number-theory, would presuppose that he understood the correlation's between the colour scale, hues and tones and how they could be linked to music.

This begs the question: is it possible to draw both a practical and theoretical analogy between the musical tone-scale and the colour scale? The octave, made up of

eight tones, is now conventionally accepted in terms of the pitch of each note being fixed. Moving up the scale creating a sense of lightness, the eighth note is exactly the same note as the first, only higher. In the same way, the colour spectral scale (the only scale that would be applicable here) moves through a series of intervals along an ordered scale from white to black. It is here that the analogy ends, because the colour spectral scale is not ordered in increasing lightness of tone or hue, like music. The basic tone, or the dominant or fifth interval or the subdominant fourth dominant, hold important positions in the octave from the melodic and harmonic point of view. They do not, however, correspond to the concepts of primary or secondary colours. E and F represent a natural interval (of one tone), as does G to C which represents a perfect fourth. Colours follow no rules of counterpoint in terms of the concept of chromatic and harmonic colours. The relationship between colour and music therefore should be seen in terms of the analogies which can be drawn between the two. Despite this, the analogy proves useful and valid. Plotinus, a disciple of Plato understood the analogy. However, he chose to focus on Plato's theory of beauty and proportion, rather than expand on colour/music relations.

Plotinus

Plotinus's theory on beauty, became central to early Christian and Renaissance philosophy. Plotinus held that the beauty of art and nature was a manifestation of the unity of being. He believed that unity of being did not come from the individual soul but from the unity of the general or a collective world soul. For him, the duality's of empirical and inherent experience, subject and object, are overcome by knowledge and reflection upon the world soul. It was to this wholeness that all orders of creation aspire, and from it that all things have been created. From the simple "Good" of the intellect, all order is generated. The world of nature exhibits harmony and order, which is part of the whole, which in itself emanates from the "One." When the soul views, or listens to

something beautiful, it experiences pleasure, which is part of the ultimate beauty of the "Whole." Hence individual beauty is, as it were, part of the harmony of the cosmic order, thus all beautiful things are related. The cosmic order (*Harmonia Mundana*), or music of the spheres, had a direct influence upon man, since the harmony of the world was directly influenced by the movement of the heavens. In this way man tried to reflect harmony around himself as a graspable and consistent natural order that was stimulating to men in their desire to reproduce natural harmony in the created works of arts and sciences.

St. Augustine

During the Quattrocento a number of eminent theoreticians began to re-analyse many of the texts of antiquity and medieval periods, drawing on material concerning the numerical construction of the cosmos and nature, which then became tied into Renaissance Humanism. St. Augustine was one of the most important early Christian writers on art theory and philosophy. As we will see, his theory of beauty became part of the general teleological progression of ideas, which were passed down from generation to generation. Plato and Aristotle approached art from a political and metaphysical point of view, where the question of truth was determined by reference to a doctrine of being and morality. By contrast, Augustine's analysis is based on the foundations of faith or the faith of Christianity. Scripture, not philosophy was the arbiter. Augustine had to resolve difficult conflicts as to the nature of art and its function.[10]

Augustine raised a number of questions. What does scripture teach us? What was God's relation to the world, and what was God's design? His treaties are remarkable for their unremitting efforts to satisfy the demands of faith and to do justice to the natural gratifications of art. For Augustine there were four major conflicts, the resolutions of which gave him the answers he sought. These were paganism versus Christianity; Nature versus art; imitation versus symbol; and creation versus begetting.

The immediate sensuous gratification of art remained a problem. Perceptual objects tied the senses down to earthly things and prevented the mind from contemplating what was eternal and unchanging. Art and the beauties of nature had their place in the ascent to God. But for Augustine, true beauty was born in the soul and not in the sense of sight, and music was seen as a higher art than painting. However, the words of the scriptures held the highest place.

Therefore, according to Augustine, although scripture properly interpreted provided the most direct knowledge of the divine purpose and order, the arts of music and painting were important vehicles towards our understanding. It was also the function of art within a didactic framework which interested Augustine. As was discussed in Chapter Three, the debate centred around the function and purpose of art within a religious context and the controversy of iconoclasm. For Augustine, as long as art agreed with the truths of faith and reflected the harmony of God's creative powers, it could be justified.

Augustine's philosophy of art is really a theory of beauty, rather than on the manufacture of the image which ultimately developed out of the Neo-Platonic tradition. He provides a model for constructing an ideal form, which, when subject to the Divine will can participate in what Augustine calls "numbers". The term "number" (*numerus*) had several meanings for Augustine. It could mean mathematical proportion, rhythmical organisation, fittingness of parts (both physical and the faculties of the soul), as well as the Divine unity, law and the beauty of God. Further, the nature of numbers was apprehended by man through his experience of first the physical (numbers and rhythms) and then the intellect (the number of thought and memory) and finally innate numbers (the judgement of the soul by means of a harmony bestowed upon man by God). This was not a new conception, and Augustine is simply echoing the ideals of the Roman architect Vitruvius.

Vitruvius

Vitruvius suggested that natural harmony was based on concordant and numerical ratios, which were reflected in music and architecture, and which were derived from Plato and Pythagorus. Vitruvius, in his Ten Books on Architecture was well aware of the possible relationship of musical concords from roots and powers of numbers, or from the means, arithmetical, geometrical or harmonic:

> Proportion is a correspondence among the measures of the members of an entire work and of the whole to a certain part selected as standard. . .without symmetry and proportion there can be no principles in the design of any temple; that is there is no precise relationship between its members as in the case of those of a well shaped man.[11]

Vitruvius pointed out that the basic proportions of the ideal man and woman could be translated into architectural form, thus the columns of the Ionic, Doric and Corinthian orders were constructed on the basis of human proportions.[12]

> . . .Therefore since nature has designed the human body so that its members are duly proportioned to frame as a whole, it appears that the ancients had good reason for their rule, that in perfect buildings the different members must be in exact symmetrical relations to the whole scheme. Further it was from the members of the body that they derived the fundamental ideas of measures which are obviously necessary in all works, as the finger, palm, foot and cubit.[13]

Vitruvius goes on to discuss the need for the architect to have a knowledge of music "so that he may have a knowledge of canonical and mathematical theory".[14] Thus architecture can be seen as frozen music, since both rely on the same numerical principles. Augustine would have understood these links since his own writings reflect such ideas, concerning mathematical proportions and rhythmical patterns. Music had long been studied in tandem with mathematics, not only in the classical period, but right the way through to the Renaissance and Baroque, as part of the formal education of students in the *Scuola di Grammatica.*

Alberti

In the early Quattrocento, the dominant view for Leon Battista Alberti in *De Re Aedificatoria* was that the different parts of nature were related to each other by means of an analogy based on numbers. The use of analogies could be extended to works of art to give the viewer an aesthetic and satisfying understanding of what is being portrayed. As he says in *De Re Aedificatoria*:

> I am every day more and more convinced of the truth of Pythagorus's saying, that nature is sure to act consistently, and with a constant analogy in all her operations from which I conclude that the same numbers by means of which the agreement of sounds affects our ears with delight, are the very same which please our eyes and our mind.[15]

Like many writers before him, (for example, Nicholas of Cusa's *Idiota* (1450) which Alberti much admired), he saw the natural order as being divinely conceived and constructed. Alberti writes:

> Man was created for the pleasure of God, to recognise the primary and original source of things amid all the variety, dissimilarity, beauty and multiplicity of animal life, amid all forms, structures, coverings and colours that characterise the animals. He was made to praise God together with universal nature, seeing in every living thing such great and perfect matched harmonies of variegated voice and verse and music combined in concord and loveliness.[16]

Alberti drew many of his conclusions from Vitruvius, in particular the numerical relationship between the human form and architecture. He points to man's natural awareness and understanding of proportion, both in nature and in art, from painting and sculpture or music and architecture. Whenever a harmonious composition is presented to the "mind" either by sight or hearing, men are able to perceive its congruity. Alberti did not see it as his aim to write a full discussion about the processes

of recognition that he so readily commended. Thus the discussion of his views ends here. The important issue was whether man was born with an innate understanding of proportion, or whether it was only through judicious study and learning that he was able to acquire this knowledge. Panofsky believed that Alberti and Leonardo considered that the ideas of forms existed only in the mind, but that they were gained from an empirical, first hand experience. Alberti, like Leonardo, went as far as to assert that certain ideas are innate and part of human experience.[17]

Leonardo

It is also important to look at Leonardo's views and see what Domenichino, as well as Bellori, may have assimilated from his writings. The climate of thought and assumptions upon which Alberti drew were still relevant to Leonardo. In many respects the same analogies were being made and used by Leonardo, relating to the whole and parts of nature; the parallels of different art forms; the analogy between the macrocosm and microcosm; and even the idea of God as the creator of the universe; and man as the subject who perfects and recreates the natural model in the mind. Leonardo seems to have devoted much of his life to attaining knowledge from manifestations of nature and describing them in a meticulous record of observations. For him, the arts and science were inextricably bound up of different aspects of nature. Nature in Leonardo's mind was a continuous cycle of birth and death, growth and decay. His interests in structure show that there was an essentially formal aspect to the way he constructed his analogies. Thus nature and the processes of growth and decay, were tied into a conscious and formalistic observation of nature and how it worked. There is a strong Aristotelian bent in the way Leonardo constructs and views nature. For example, the analogy between music and nature was compounded by the addition of animal and mechanical analogies. Many of the analogies based on natural structure and function show that both consistency and repetition exist in nature. Water, if trapped behind a pole or in a weir,

will create a natural swirling motion, which looks like the loops of woven hair on a woman (illustration 1, 2). Leonardo also noticed that if a pebble were dropped into a still pond, it created concentric circles which moved outwards, and in a remarkable way anticipated the view that sound and colour moved in waves. Thus in nature, there are natural rhythmical patterns. The basis of rhythm is the reliability that there will be a predictable occurrence of the instant and the duration of the next beat. For Leonardo, geometry and mathematics played an important role in the construction of nature and how it functioned.

Within the cultural milieu of the 16th and 17th centuries, Leonardo's theories were widely read and disseminated. It was suggested in Chapter One that the Carracci had access to an edited version of Leonardo's Treatise on Painting, and that they had a knowledge of his theories on beauty and nature.

Like Annibale, Domenichino was well known for his landscapes, often spending many hours scetching from nature, which suggests that it was only through direct experience and observation that he was able to create the perfect harmonious balance. It was Domenichino's skill of reconstructing in his mind the *idea del bello* which is fundamental. Bellori recognised in his essay "*L' Idea del Pittore, dello Scultore e del Architetto, Scelta delle Bellezze Naturali Superiore alla Natura*" the debt that was owed to Alberti and Leonardo, in terms of the *idea*. As Bellori pointed out:

> Now if we want to confront the precepts of the sages of antiquity with the best methods of our modern teachers, Leone Battista Alberti maintains that we love in all things not only likeness but mainly the beauty, and that we must select the most praiseworthy parts from the most beautiful bodies. Thus Leonardo da Vinci taught the painter to form this *Idea*, to consider what he saw and to consult himself, choosing the most excellent parts of everything.[18]

For Leonardo geometry was seen as a science which could be applied to continuous quantities (*quantita continua*) and to things that have substance (*materia*).

While it is not necessary to give a full exposition on Leonardo's ideas of time and geometry, these ideas are important and need to be analysed, specifically, his attempts to evaluate the relationship between music and painting, and the application of time and space within a work of art. Leonardo discusses painting and music in terms of proportion:

> . . .both painting and music involve proportion and both painters and musicians employ proportion...just as musicians who through their voices are united and strung together, have created intervals according to the distance from voice to voice calling them unison, second, third, fourth and fifth and so on until names have been given to various degrees of pitch proper to the human voice.[19]

Domenichino would have known and understood Leonardo's train of thought, specifically, the idea that painting, like music, relies on diminution. As the voice or pitch moves up or down the scale, so in painting objects recede into the picture plane in harmonic regression. As Leonardo says "if you say that music is composed of proportion then I have used similar means in painting. . .."[20] So, like God, the painter or musician employs proportion in his works. Painting was therefore seen as an extension of nature. Perspective was a means of depicting a true rendition of nature, giving the artist the facility to convey objects moving through space. However, painting can only convey a fixed moment in time and space; it cannot show continuous action and can only suggest it. A high value was set on an artist's ability to give permanence to the physical world, in particular the representation of a frozen moment. Leonardo claimed that painting was superior to music and poetry because it was able to represent a simultaneous whole.[21] For Leonardo music could suggest an experience of harmony, but only fleetingly. God's divine construction of the cosmos happened in a manner and on a scale beyond human comprehension. Human science, for example mathematics, was a means of reflecting God's unity and harmony, which was reflected in nature. Science did not offer a direct knowledge of God, but was able to offer a real knowledge of his works. In that respect

geometry (of which perspective is a branch) was seen not merely as a technique, but as a science, and as a science, visual perspective had long been associated as a branch of mathematics. Music was also seen to be related to mathematics, based on Pythagorean principles which were established in terms of numbers in sound. As was discussed earlier, music had also been related to colour in terms of a sliding scale from black to white and low to high tones.

The cultural associations between different colours and musical modes is an old one. The system was based on a rhetorical and analogous relationship that could be brought to bear between them. In the last chapter, it was seen that Baldassare Castiglone, Lomazzo and later Agucchi and Bellori, came close to discussing the modes in terms of different artistic styles. Castiglione, for instance, pointed out that the modes were based on different systems of colouring and painting, as exemplified by Leonardo, Raphael, Sebastiano del Piombo and Michelangelo. For him as, no doubt, other painters, different modes of painting offered the possibility of expressing a wide variety of emotions, like those found in music. In Castiglione's eyes Leonardo exemplified the *sfumato*; Raphael *unione*; late Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo *chiaroscuro*; and Michelangelo the *cangiantismo* mode.[22]

The mode could also be equated with specific colours, which in turn could also be tied to music. This *modus operandi* was based on the principles of the Grecian modal system, which was established by Pythagorus and Plato. For example the Dorian mode could be said to be grave and serious; the Ionic, joyful, related to Baccanalian revelries. The same occurs with colours: red has always been associated with Mars, the God of War, thus related to war-like and martial music; Apollo, the god of the Sun, is obviously related to yellow and gold, which in turn can be equated to joyful, happy music.

These cultural associations were carried into 16th century theory concerning music and colour ratios, in particular the Augustinian differential of the celestial

hierarchy of the angelic hosts. This theory was ultimately based on Plato's "Myth of Er" and the *Harmonia Mundana*, by which each of the orders was assigned a specific colouristic and musical hue and tone.[23] Through Augustine, the tradition of Christian Platonism became part of the theological language, in which the cosmic principles of number, ratio, tone and colour in relation to the music of the spheres.

The idea of a colour/music scale was extremely popular in the Renaissance and Seicento. The Milanese painter Giuseppe Archimboldo was considered to be the founder of the "music of colours." Archimboldo developed a chromatic note system at the court of Rudolph II of Prague. Rudolph's court proved to be one of the most progressive and intellectually stimulating within the late Renaissance and early Seicento. Artists from many different fields flocked from all over Europe to find position and patronage.[24] Archimboldo returned to Milan in the late 1580s, and it would not be surprising to find that the educational and cultural environment of Milan during the period was still strongly imbued with a sense of artistic esotericism, and that the debate between the arts was still very lively, stimulated by the work of artists and scientists such as Leonardo and Luca Pacioli. The very well known theory of "*ut pictura poesis*" (as painting so poetry), and the notion of "*ut ars musica pictura*" (as the art of music, so painting) was further developed by Leonardo. The only documented text of Archimboldo's colour/music system comes to us second hand, and was written by Gregorio Comanini in his *Il Figino*, published in Mantua in 1591.[25] Comanini believed that Archimboldo began constructing a scale of values between white and black, stepped according to the double octave of musical tones based on Pythagorean principles. Archimboldo also began experimenting with hue and tonal scales, equating the darker end of the colour range with high pitch, constructing his scale by mixing black and white paint together according to the ratios of 4:3, for the fourth, 3:2 for the fifth, 2:1 for the octave and so on. His investigations lead him to employ Mauro Cremonese dalla Viola, a musician at the court of Rudolph II, to try and locate on his gravicembalo (a stringed instrument),

the consonance of colours. Unfortunately there is little evidence to suggest that Archimboldo was trying to construct scales of low, mid or high colour values which could be matched to a specific mode. As it has been pointed out, Comanini and Lomazzo were close to Archimboldo during his last years in Milan. This point raises two important questions: did Lomazzo draw any of his ideas from Archimboldo, and in what way were the ideas on colour and music reflected in Lomazzo's own writings? If Lomazzo did in fact draw ideas from Archimboldo, is there any evidence to suggest that Domenichino was conversant with these issues?

In the *Idea del Tempio della pittura*, Lomazzo asserted that the fields of astrology and cosmology were inherently bound within the speculative field of the "Arts" and art theory. The "Temple" of the arts was ruled over by seven painters as regents and art theory was bound by the principle number of seven.[26] Here again is clear evidence that the number seven was tied into the Neo-Platonic concept of number/colour/music theory. Lomazzo's colour scale was extremely traditional in its construction, following Leonardo da Vinci's scale of colour.[27] Domenichino was certainly conversant with Lomazzo's colour scale, as we know that he owned a copy of Lomazzo's text. Like wise Matteo Zaccolini, the Theatine brother who was aiding Domenichino during the early months of his commission in Sant' Andrea della Valle, must have known of Lomazzo's writings. In many respects, Zaccolini's colour scale is closely related to Lomazzo's.

Zaccolini

Zaccolini employed two colour scales which were divided into nine parts, illustrated graphically in both *De colori* and in the *Prospettiva del colore*. In *De colori*, the scale moves from white through to yellow, red, tan, purple, pale, green, blue, and black (illustration, 3), as laid out on an artists palette. Zaccolini based his palette on related primaries and tones, which is the first example of a practising artist using such

an arrangement in this manner. Domenichino adopted this system from Zaccolini, as he graphically portrays an angel in St. Luke, one of the four pendentives in Sant' Andrea della Valle, holding a palette in which the colours move from white near the thumb, through red, bright yellow, brown-yellow and brown. There is also further documentary evidence which can to be drawn upon to support this hypothesis. The English traveller Richard Symonds noted that Giovanni Angelo Canini, a student of Domenichino's (who produced the sketch of Domenichino's life drawing class), based his palette on Zaccolini's.[28] Symonds pointed out that Canini constructed his palette of colours in a series two rows, one of unmixed pigments from white, yellow-ochre, vermilion and so on to charcoal black, and the second row of up to three hues or tones. Thus it can be seen that Zaccolini's theoretical principles, which Domenichino and his student Canini were to adopt, offered painters a new method of colour harmonisation, based on a systematic lay out of hues and tones which were sequentially ordered and related in terms of a scale from white to black.

In the second treatise *Prospettiva del colore*, Zaccolini focused on the function of colour and aerial perspective. Under the heading "The precedence of colour" (illustration, 4), Zaccolini makes a wall or painted surface A, and X, the most distant point in the fictive space of the painting. The intervals marked on the line indicate the distance at which the true or real colour will disappear, and the object turn blue. The order of colours is *nero* (N), *verde* (V), *pavonazzo* (P), *rosso* (R), *biondo* (B), *giallo* (G), and *bianco* (B), with *turchino* (T), blue, being the last. Zaccolini's scale of precedence is extremely traditional in which all the colours are arranged from black to white with the exception of blue.[29]

Zaccolini observed that colours were affected by their relations to each other and by the interaction of light and darkness causing them to change. *De colori*, focuses mainly on how colours are generated from and through different mediums, such as earth

(book 1), air (book 3), fire (book 4) and water (book 2), (appendix 2, folio no. 1 verso, 2 recto, pp. 346-348).

> I considered the colours arising from weather manifestations, vapours, mist, frost, sleet, snow and rain, rainbows, thunderbolts and comets and reaching even higher peaks to explore the manifestation of colour in fire (sun), and then the moon and the stars, the milky way, whose candour blinds even the most intelligent from such height. . .sparing nothing in our exploration of the colour generated by the shadows of opaque (solid) bodies and those arising from combinations such as never seeing their real colour.[30]

It is also important to see this in the context of Zaccolini's over-all theory on aerial and colour perspective, which relied heavily on Leonardo da Vinci's own theories.

The purpose of Zaccolini's four treatises was to provide artists with a frame-work of practical colour and perspectival analysis within nature "the true preceptor and teacher." Like Leonardo, Zaccolini's observations were based on an intuitive and empirical study of colour and nature. Being a painter himself, he understood the practical problems of balancing and unifying colours in terms of *chiaroscuro*, and aerial perspective. For Zaccolini, the artist had to have a good grounding in the study of nature, not only observing the forms of animals and plants, but the minerals, rocks and metals. As he states, in the introduction to *De Colori* (appendix 3, folios no. 3 recto and verso, 4 recto and verso with the authors translation, pp. 347-352):

> Having spent some years entertaining the art of painting, I have attempted to couple this exercise with an understanding of the theory behind it. . .Only recently realising I lack a theory of colour to match the theory of perspective, so as to allow the painter to paint colour, following a set of rules as one does for lines. I attempted to understand the formation of colour amongst minerals, stones rocks and precious metals and other metallic configurations. . .I considered the vegetarian, how it arises, grows develops: starting from the roots of the grass, the plants, the exploring the branch of every tree,

> noticing how the colour arises in the flowers fruits
> and in all the animals. . .[31]

Thus, Zaccolini was articulating a view-point that it was only through a conscious study of nature that the artist could reflect a true representation of the world around him. For Zaccolini the aim of the artist was not only to reflect nature in painting, his tools (the pigments) were derived from nature as well, thus he should only represent what is seen and found in nature. Much of *De colori* is devoted to the practical handling of pigments and the proper proportions and use of different combinations of colours. He advised the painter, where possible, to adopt a palette of colours that were made from natural minerals, as he believed that man made pigments tended to fade and were not a true reflection of nature itself.

Much of Zaccolini's inspiration came from classical texts concerning colour and nature. The most important were Aristotle's Meteorologica and De Sensu as well as the pseudo-Aristotelian *De coloribus*. Each of these presented a different approach to colour analysis.[32] Zaccolini acknowledged the debt that he owed to Aristotle, in particular his views on nature and colour in *L' Autore al lettore*, which was part of the general introduction to *De colori* which has yet to be published.[33] In both *De colori* and *Prospettiva del colore*, Zaccolini elaborated upon the basic concepts of Aristotle and how colours related to each other, particularly within the spectrum of the rainbow. Aristotle argued that they resulted from the refraction and reflection of light and that colours arose from the darkening and weakening of light, or from combinations of light and dark.[34] Zaccolini observed that when colours mixing with light and or darkness picked up reflections from an adjacent or interposing colour they formed a compound colour, instead of the pure colour of the object. This idea was obviously borrowed from Leonardo, who observed: "The surface of every opaque body takes on the colour of the object opposite and does so more or less as the object is nearer or further away."[35] Leonardo writes:

> That colour which is closest to the area illuminated by reflected light will tint it most and vice versa. Therefore, painter, see that in their faces of your figures such areas be worked in with colour of the garments which are closest to the flesh, but do not separate sharply the colour of the flesh from that reflected from the garments, if there is no need for it.[36]

In his discussion about reflected colours, Leonardo introduced the concept of "accidental colours." Like Leonardo, Zaccolini observed that a compound colour was formed when the colour of one object was reflected onto an adjacent colour area, there by changing the real or inherent colour of the surface. However, this concept is flawed in the respect that Leonardo refers to the "essence" of colours and the "real colour" of "accidental colours" and does not deal with the problematical status of real and apparent colours. Zaccolini on the other hand, devoted most of his attention to accidental colour in his *Prospettiva del colore*, for he said "that no true colour is seen as it really is."[37] Zaccolini distinguished two categories for colour: real and apparent. Real colour was fixed, a physical property of the object and determined by biological and chemical processes, involving the properties of heat, dryness and moisture. Apparent colours were determined by the distance of the colour from the eye and the medium through which they were seen. Leonardo had pointed out that colours changed due to the nature of the "transparent body" which the viewer was looking through, be this fog, or fire or some other medium such as coloured glass:

> The greater the transparent body placed between the eye and the object, the more the colour of the object will be changed towards the colour of the transparent object in between. . .If you wish to see briefly all the varieties of composite colours, take pieces of coloured glass and look at them at all the colours of the countryside. There you will see that all the colours of the objects seen though the glass blend with the colour of the glass, and you will see which colour is strengthened or impaired by such a mixture.[38]

Zaccolini observed that the causation of apparent colour was affected by the amount of light. Colours appeared weaker in dim light than in strong light; however colours could also be affected by the angle from which they were reflected from the colour surface. Following Leonardo, Zaccolini envisaged a model in which the light emanating from a source would hit the surface of the coloured object and rebound, carrying with it the "species" of the colour of that object.[39] He cited Aristotle, who believed as Leonardo did, that colours appeared darker in shadow for a different reason. Shadow was defined as a lack of or lessening of light in distinction to darkness or *tenebra* the complete absence of light.[40]

The pseudo-Aristotelian *De coloribus* suggests that there were three ways of generating colour from a mixture of light and darkness. The first was to place small dots of black and white in a proportional ratio side by side, so that neither black nor white would be perceived but some other compound colour.[41] It was pointed out in Chapter Three that Domenichino may have understood and acted upon this when making his preparatory drawings. This is ultimately something he learnt from his master Agostino Carracci, through his attempts to translate colouristic qualities through the medium of print making. The second was the superposition of translucent layers so that no one colour would be seen through another, there by forming a third. The third and most common cause of colours was a mixture of intermingling units. Zaccolini incorporated all three concepts in his theory of apparent colours. His theory attempts to explain the appearance of colours in mist and fog or through vapours on the horizon; why colours appear darker in the shadows; and also the basic structure of his colour system and the precedence of colour into primary, secondary or compound colours. The fundamental premise for Zaccolini was that various colours would intermingle into a visual pyramid, causing a third compound colour to be perceived. Zaccolini writes:

> Since the visible can be divided into three parts, i. e. firstly: distance, a description of how mass is represented to the eye, has received many a written description being commonly known as perspective:

> the second part is light which has received some description as part of a theory on perspective. The third part is colour. It is not possible to have perfect vision without it, since colour is that which moves the sense of vision, being reflected from the opaque mass through light to the eye, has yet to be dealt with by any writer. . .[42]

Although Leonardo touched upon the issue of reflected colours, Zaccolini went further in suggesting that colours were affected by the atmosphere, which was, as he suggested, predominantly blue. Colours were affected by the mixture of blue light in the atmosphere, depending on the distance of the colour from the observer. The blue light weakened the colour according to the distance and depending on the amount of light in the atmosphere, the colour either darkens or lightens, forming a new tone. This idea finds its roots in Leonardo, who observed that objects in the landscape became predominantly more blue in the distance, since black and white light when mixed together made blue.[43] Leonardo observed that the colour of the landscape changed during different times of the day. During sunrise and sunset the landscape took on different colours due to the weakness of sunlight coming from the east or west of the rising or setting sun.[44] Shadows and colours also change and shift, becoming more defined with the strengthening sunlight. Thus the scale of colour values is tied to the effects of light and shadow. Zaccolini expanded on this in both the third and forth treatise *De lineale* and *Della descrittione dell' ombre prodotte da corpi opachi rettilinei*, both of which are devoted to the casting of shadows, shadow projections and perspective. Like Leonardo, Zaccolini and Domenichino understood that an analogy could be drawn between colour and music in terms of a sliding tonal scale. Annibale, and Domenichino too, appreciated that if the painter used primary and secondary hues in the forefront of the picture, then at each successive point as the eye was drawn into the painting, the hues and tones would become weaker and eventually turn blue, due to the lessening of light. Like the musician, the painter would use correct proportion and harmonisation of colours as they receded perspectivally into the painting.

Another important aspect which needs to be dealt with in some depth concerns Zaccolini's observations of colour relations. This material is of great value, because it will substantiate the claim that Domenichino did in fact change the manner in which he handled colour harmonics and began to adopt very specific colour value systems based on Zaccolini's theories. In the *Prospettiva del colore*, Zaccolini focused on the combinations of colours using colour triads, which were created by balancing two colours of the same intensity together to form a third compound colour. He cites the example of *seta cangiante*, or shot silk, in which two or more colours are woven together. *Cangianti* were extremely popular in Italian painting from the thirteenth century well into the 19th century. The characteristic feature of *cangianti* is the appearance of different colours at different levels of illumination. Zaccolini gives a number of examples of how this appearance comes about: a cloth made of yellow and green will turn dark green in the shadow. This happens because "yellow is a simple colour and better to maintain itself without mutation."[45] In shadows, black mixes with Naples yellow (*giallorino*) to produce green and this apparent green combines with the real green of the threads. If the light is weak, then the whole garment will appear entirely green since all the yellow will be affected by darkness. In medium light the highlights will be yellow green (*verdegiao*) and the shadows a darker green. This scheme is presented with three rows for each of the three levels of illumination (illustration, 6). Zaccolini advised the painter to add light blue (*biadetto* or ultramarine) first to the shadows, then to the lights, beginning at the appropriate distance for the particular colour as determined by the scale of precedence.[46] Since the procedure for determining the colour is basically the same for other possible combinations, Zaccolini saw that the possibilities were endless for tonal combinations. However, he was clear about the need to balance tones of the same value against each other. For example, purple can be combined with red, if it is balanced with blue on the other side, to form a harmonious balance. Likewise, if the two primary colours are mixed, for example red

and yellow, they form the secondary or compound colour of orange, which finds its complimentary in the compound colour of purple. Domenichino did in fact adopt many of Zaccolini's theories, which were put into practice, as will now be demonstrated.

In Domenichino's St. John the Evangelist (1627-29), (plate 52) red and green are used for the robes of the saint.[47] The combination of these two hues creates wonderful opportunities for producing *cangiantismo*-type effects, since both hues are at full intensity and the colours seem to reverberate. The painting is keyed towards the darker end of the *scuro* range, as we see the sun setting in the background. The shadows of the red robe are tinged with dark maroon (a mixture of dark blue and red). Likewise, the green robe is modulated from pure hue through to black blue/green in the shadows, echoing Zaccolini's own ideas of adding blue and black to the shaded areas. The light, which is predominantly yellow also acts as a catalyst by tingeing the robes with a pale lemon wash.[48] It is this pale lemon light which keeps each of the hues balanced, so that no single colour bounces out of key. This system allowed the artist to create colour triads, like those found in music. However, as has been mentioned, one can only draw an analogy to music because colour triads do not function in the same manner as musical triads. The possibility is that the effects of red placed next to green may naturally create a tension between the two colours. The colours oscillate against each other, thus psychologically and in the mind's eye creating the potential for something akin to a synaesthetic or sound-like quality to be produced. Zaccolini acknowledged that different colour relations could be seen in terms of a tonal scale. He pointed out that the scale could also move up and down in terms of light and shadow and the effects of *chiaroscuro*. Zaccolini also stated in the *Prospettiva del colore*, that certain colour harmonies, for example white and yellow, could be associated with the most powerful musical chords, although he did not give examples.[49] Therefore, it can be suggested that Domenichino and Zaccolini may have recognised that certain colour combinations could affect the viewer, in the same way that musical chords would.

Domenichino understood the potential of using consonant/dissonant and harmonic or chromatic colour scales, like those found in music. Like the composer who weaves the voices of a choir or orchestra together to form a harmonious balance, so the painter does the by the means of colour. By using a low, mid or high-value system of colouring, the painter could create an equivalent effect in which all of the hues and tones were perfectly matched depending upon the level of illumination. The painter could also employ contrasts of *chiaroscuro* to effect a key change. If we compare two paintings by Domenichino, we can see how these systems come into play. In Mary Magdalene in Glory (plate 53) now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, ca. 1620, Domenichino adopts a high-value system of colouring. He uses pure saturated hues of yellow, red, lime green and blue, which resonate against each other. On the other hand he uses a mid-value colour range, mediated by the effects of *chiaroscuro* in The Last Rites of St. Jerome.[50] The robes of St. Jerome's followers and the celebrants, are all painted in mid tones of mustard-yellow, burnt orange-red, and dark greens. Like Zaccolini's experiments with *seta cangiante,* which change colour at different levels of illumination, Domenichino saw the possibility of using harmonic or chromatic colour scales, in the same way that the composer uses harmonic, chromatic, and enharmonic modes. Zaccolini's theoretical experiments along with the visual evidence of the palette in Domenichino's fresco of St. Luke in Sant' Andrea della Valle, proves that for the first time these two artists were systematically trying to construct a formalised pattern of colourization and tonal harmonics. In the next chapter, it will be shown that Domenichino's own musical experiments, and in particular his interest in the Grecian modal system, in which he tried to create a new "mode" based on the harmonic, chromatic and diatonic scales, goes some of the way to suggest that he did in fact see that the colour and musical tonal scale could be related.

The principles of harmony and beauty, established in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, became part of the philosophical and theoretical traditions of Western culture.

Their ideas laid the foundations for the writings of St. Augustine, Alberti, Leonardo, Zaccolini and Bellori, as well as numerous other theoreticians and philosophers on the "Arts". The prevailing view that God was the divine architect, who constructed the universe, and harmony (through the *Harmonia Mundana*) which was reflected in nature is of fundamental importance. The artist therefore reflected this beauty and harmony which was derived from nature, assimilating the best elements of correct proportion, good design and colour. This could be reflected in the use of low, mid or high-value scales and different modes of colouring, and in the expressive potential offered by this system like that found in music. Thus not only for Leonardo, Domenichino, Zaccolini and Bellori, art reflected the highest aims of man, to produce a true rendition of the natural order of things, a reflection of God's creation.

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[1] Plotinus, Ennead, Sixth Tractate, (trans. Albert Hofstader and Richard Kuhns), Philosophies of Art and Beauty, p. 141.

[2] See Chapter Six, foot note 1, for an analysis of Nicholas Poussin's letter to Chantelou, in which he discusses the issue of the Grecian modal system in relation to painting.

[3] For a brief history on Nicomichus see, F. R. Levin, The Harmonics of Nicomachus and the Pythagorean Tradition, American Classical Association, 1975. The first vernacular text was printed in Paris in 1538, and then in Venice in 1539. Nicomichus also wrote another work of great influence on the Neo-Platonists called Theological Arithmetic, that is, on the mysteries of numerology as a clue to the meaning of the universe. The original text was lost, but comes to us via two sources, *Photius Bibliotheca*, codex 187, and Iamblichus or Proclus's *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*. For further reading, see Chadwick, Boethius The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy, Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 71-107.

[4] ibid.

[5] The six whole tones were known as the six church modes, c, d, e, g, a, b.

[6] Diatonic chromatic and enharmonic genra, based on Pythagorean principles, which were advocated by Galilei Galileo and members of the Florentine *Camerata*, followed:

Tetrachord I Tetrachord

A, B C D E F G A

Chromatic:

A B C C (sharp) E F F (sharp) A

Enharmonic:

A B B+ E E+ F A

For a complete analysis of the diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic systems, see P. D. Walker, Music, Spirit and Language in the Renaissance, 1985, pp. 115-116.

[7] Pythagorus so the legend goes was passing a smithy when he heard five hammers of differing weights being sounded, each one following the order of 12, 9, 8, and 6 were producing sounds, four being consonant in the ratio 2:1, 3:2, 4:3, 9:8, and a fifth dissonant.

[8]

	The ratios of the spheres.	The order of the spheres.	The spheres.	The note.
1.	1,	6	Fixed Stars.	d
2.	8,	5	Saturn.	d flat
3.	7,	4	Jupiter.	c
4.	3,	3	Mars.	b flat
5.	6,		Mercury.	f
6.	2,	2	Venus.	g flat
7.	5,		Sun.	a
8.	4,	1	Moon.	e

[9] For a commentary on Aristoxenus, see the introduction of Bothius's *De institutione musica*.

[10] Through his analysis of the Bible, he not only discussed the methods of interpreting scripture, but provided extended interpretations of a great many books of the Bible in his commentaries *De Doctrina Christiana*, and *De Utilitate Credendi*.

[11] Vitruvius, The Ten Books of Architecture, (trans. Morris Hicky Morgan, book I, chap. II, pp. 13-14).

[12] "For the human body is so designed by nature that the face from the chin to the top of the forehead and the lowest roots of the hair is one tenth part of the whole height; the open hand from the wrist to the tip of the middle finger is just the same; the head from the chin is one eighth, and the neck and the shoulder from the top of the breast to the lowest roots of the hair is a sixth; from the middle of the breast to the summit of the crown a forth. If we take the height of the face itself, the distance from the bottom of the chin to the nostrils is one third of it; the nose from the underside of the nostrils is one third of it; the nose from the underside of the nostrils to the line of the eyebrows is the same; from there to the lowest roots of the hair is also a third, comprising the forehead. The length of the foot is one sixth of the height of the body; of the forearm one fourth; and the breast is also one fourth. The other members too have their own symmetrical proportions, and it was by employing them that the famous painters and sculptors of antiquity attained to greatness and endless renown." ibid.

[13] ibid.

[14] ibid, Book I, ch. I, p. 8.

[15] Ten Books on Architecture, trans. J. Leoni, London 1955, Book IX, ch. v p. 243.

[16] *Libri della Famiglia*, trans. R. N. Watkins (Columbia, South Carolina, 1969) Book II, p. 134.

[17] Erwin Panofsky Renaissances and Renassences in Western Art, 1952.

[18] "*Hora se con il precetti delli antichi Sapienti rincontrar vogliamo ancora gli ottimi instituti de' nostri moderni, insigna Leon Battista Alberti, che si ami in tutti le cose non solo la simiglianza, ma principalmente la bellissimi le più lodate parte. Cosi Leonardo da Vinci instruisce il pittore a formarsi questa Idea, e a considerare ciò che esso vede e parlar seco, egeggendo le parti più eccellenti di qualunque cosa.*" Bellori, 1664, p. 5.

[19] Leonardo, *Paragone*, (folio 34).

[20] ibid.

[21] Leonardo is echoing Aristotle's views on sensory perception. For Aristotle, sight was the highest of the senses. Aristotle believed that:

"The habit of feeling pleasure or pain at mere representations is not far removed from the same feelings about realities; for example, if one delights in the sight of a statue for its beauty only, it necessarily follows that the sight of the original will be pleasant to him. The objects of no other senses, such as touch and taste, have any resemblance to moral qualities. . .."Aristotle, Politics, Book VIII, (trans. Benjamin Jowett), p. 133.

[22] See Hall "The Modes of Coloring in the Cinquecento" in Color and Meaning: Practice and Meaning in Renaissance Painting, 1992, pp. 92-93.

[23] See footnote 8.

[24] Amongst the retinue at Rudolph's court was Anselm de Boodt, his physician, who was an amateur water colourist and wrote *Gemmarum et lapidum historia. . .* published in 1609. This publication proved to be

of importance because de Boodt introduced a three colour primary system as a basis for colour mixing, which had no antecedents.

[25] According to Comanini, the violinist Mauro Cremonese adopted Archimbolo's chromatic note system. Comanini wrote that Archimboldo used the Pythagorean system of numbered intervals, consisting of horizontal lines with coloured points, which indicated the tones. Each part of the scale began with a specific colour: white for the bass, yellow for the baritone, green for the tenor, blue for the alto and dark violet for the soprano part. Thus the eight tones (which made up the octave) became successively darker. The system was then an inverted lightness scale. See Gaval, Colour, A Study of its Position in the Art Theory of the Quattro and Cinquecento, Stockholm, 1979, p. 93.

[26] Lomazzo's seven governors were: Michelangelo, Gaudenzio Ferrari (Lomazzo's master in Milan), Polidoro da Caravaggio, Leonardo, Mantegna and Titian.

[27] Leonardo da Vinci, *Codex Urbinus*. Leonardo divides his scale into six principle colours: "*I semplici colori sono sei de' quali il primo è il bianco, benchè alcuni filosofi non accettino il bianco nè 'l nero nel numero de' colori, perchè l'uno è causa de' colori e l'altro n'è privazione. Ma pure, perchè il pittore non puo fare senza questi, noi li metteremo nel numero degli altri e diremo il bianco in questo ordine essere il primo ne' semplici ed il giallo il secondo, e 'l verde n'è 'l terzo, l' azzurro n'è 'l quarto, e 'l rosso n'è 'l quinto e' l nero n'è 'l sesto.*" Trattato della Pittura, (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p 56. For further reading see Leonardo on Painting, (ed. Martin Kemp) in particular pp. 70-115.

[28] Beal, A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and their Relevance to Seventeenth Century Painting Techniques, 1984, p. 244.

[29] In terms of aerial perspective colours became lighter due to an increase of light. In the case of blue, the air was seen to contain a greater amount of black and white light (which was believed to make blue) the further away from the viewer.

[30] See appendix 3, pp. 347-352.

[31] ibid.

[32] In his treatise On Sense and Sensible Objects as well as Meteorologica, Aristotle identified five unmixed intermediate colours: crimson, violet, leek-green, dark blue and grey, which was a mixture of black and yellow. He also believed that the seven colours of the rainbow (although he did not actually perceive all of the colours were unmixed or pure hues) could be seen in terms of a scale, which was ultimately related to the tonal scale.

[33] See appendix 3, pp. 347-352.

[34] Aristotle, Meteorologica, (trans. H. D. P. Lee), Loeb Classics, 1987, p. 245.

[35] "*La superfice d'ogni corpo ombrosso partecipa del colore del suo obbietto.*" Trattato della Pittura, (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 43. Also see Leonardo on Painting, (ed. Martin Kemp), p. 74. Leonardo and Zaccolini were obviously drawing their conclusions from Aristotle, who stated inMeteorologica: "The colour of bright objects sometimes, either owning to contamination by the colour of the mirror or owing to the feebleness of our sight, produces an appearance of another colour." (trans. H. D. P. Lee), 1987, 245.

[36]"*Quel colore che sarà più vicino al reflesso più tinggerà di sè esso reflesso, e cosi de converso. Adunque tu, pittore, fa di operare nei riflessi delle effigi delle figure il colore delle parte de' vestimenti che sono presso alle parti della carne che li son più vicine, ma non separare con troppa loro pronunciazione, se non bisogna.*" (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 69.

[37] Zaccolini is echoing Leonardo's views "On Lights and Shadows and their Colours." Leonardo writes: "*Nessun corpo non si dimontrerà mai integralmente del suo vero colore.*" (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 43.

[38] "*Quanto maggiore fia la interposizione transparente infra l'occhio e l'obbietto, tanto più si transmuta il colore dell' obbietto nel colore del transparente interposto*", Trattato della Pittura, (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 38. "*Se vogli con brevità vedere le varietà di tutti colori composti togli vetri colorati e per quelli guarda tutti i colori della campagna che dopo quello si veggono; e cosi vedrai tutti i colori delle miste col colore del predetto vetro, e vedrai quale fia il colore che con tal mistione si racconci o guasti.*" ibid, p. 57.

[39] "*Se la superfici d'ogni corpo opaco participa del colore del suo obbietto. Tu hai da intendere, se sarà messo un obbietto bianco infra due pareti delle quali l'una sia bianca e l'altra nera, che tu troverai tal proporzione infra la parte ombrosa e la parte luminosa del detto obbietto, qual fia quella delle predette pareti; e se l'obbietto sarà di colore azzurro, fare il simile. Onde, avendo da dipingere, farai come seguita: togli il nero per ombrare l'obbietto azzurro che sia simile al nero ovvero ombra della parete che*

tu fara' volendolo fare con certa e vera scienza, userai fare in queo modo. . .." Trattato della Pittura, (trans. Carlo Pedretti, 1977, p. 73). Leonardo may well be making an analogy here. The mirror may well be reflecting the actual colours and reflections within nature." *Sempre la cosa specchiata partecipa del colore del corpo che la specchia. Lo specchio si tinge in parte del colore da lui specchiato e partecipa tanto più l'un dell' altro quanto la cosa che si specchia è più o men potente che 'l colore dell specchio. E quella cosa parrà di più partecipa del colore d'esso specchio.*" ibid, p. 68

[40] "'*De lumi e ombre' Ombra è diminuzione o privazione di luce.*" (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 79.

[41] Pedretti, has suggested that Leonardo included material from De Coloribus in or around 1508, particularly his notes on white. Pedretti, 1977, pp. 56-57.

[42] See appendix 3, pp. 347-352.

[43] "*L'azzurro dell' aria è di colore composto di luce e di tenebre; La luce diro per causa dell' aria alluminata nelle particule dell' umidità infra essa aria infusa. Per tenebre diro l'aria pura la qual non è divisa in attimim cioè particule d'umidità nella qual s'abbi a percotere il razzi solari; e di questo si vede l'esempio nell' aria che s'interpone infra l'occhio e le montagne ombrose per l'ombra della gran copia delli alberit che sopra di essa si trovano, ovvero ombrosa in quella parte che non è percossa dalli razzi solari; la qual aria si fa azzurra e non si fa azzura nella parte sua luminosa, e peggio nella parte coperta di neve.*" Trattato della Pittora, (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 31.

[44]"*Dico de' paesi all' occhio tuo orientali. Nel levare del Sole ovvero collo nebbie od altri vapori grossi interposti infra; l Sole e l'occhio, dico che essi saranno molto più chiari inverso il Sole e manco splendidi nelle parti opposite, cioè occidentali, ovvero quella parte che s'interpone infra 'l Sole e l'occhio sarà tanto più oscura quant'ell'è all occhio più vicina. E tale accidente accaderà in quella parte che fia più vicina al Sole cioè che parrà più sotto il Sole; e nelle parti opposite farà il contrario a tempo chiaro. Ed a tempo nebuloso farà il contrario de' tempi belli.*" (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 75.

[45] Zaccolini is probably refering to Leonardo's own theory on colours. As Leonardo notes: "*L'azzurro e l' verde non è per sè composto di luce e di tenebre, com'è quel dell'aria cioè nero perfettisimo e bianco candidissimo.*"

"*Il verde è composto d'un semplice e d'un composto, cioè si compone d'azzurro e di giallo.*" Trattato della Pittura, (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 58.

[46]Zaccolini argued that by using more expensive pigments, for example ultramarine derived from lapis lazuli and Naples yellow (*giallo santo*), instead of ochre and smalt, the colours would not fade or become weakened.

[47] Leonardo points out that green and red were harmonious colours and advised the painter to use this combination when the opportunity arose to do so. "*I colori che si convegano insieme, cioè il verde col rosso o pagonazzo, o biffa, e giallo coll'azzuro.*" (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 51.

[48] Leonardo noted that: "*Il lume del fuoco tinge ogni cosa in giallo. Ma questo non apperirà esser vero se non v'è al paragone le cose alluminate dell' aria; e questo paragone si potrà vedere vicino alla fine della giornata, o si veramente dopo l'aurora. . ..*" (trans. Carlo Pedretti), 1977, p. 39.

[49] The most important chordal consonance on the scale of C-c are the major third, C-e, the perfict fifth, C-g and the major sixth, C-a.

[50] Modern psychologists, such as C. Graham in Vision and Visual Perception, 1965, recognise that these systems of colouring do have a profound affect upon the viewer, in the same way that musical modes can effect the listener. Also see John Gage, Colour and Culture, 1993, pp. 153-176.

Chapter Five

The Art of Music, Imagery and Instrumentation in Domenichino's Paintings

> Gentlemen, I must tell you I am not satisfied with our courtier unless he is also a musician and unless as well as understanding and being able to read music he can also play several instruments. . .So it is no wonder that in ancient times and today they [Plato and Aristotle] have always been extremely fond of musicians and have welcomed music as true refreshment of the spirit.[1]

For Domenichino, painting offered a medium to express his interest in music. This is evident in a number of his works in which Domenichino included musical manuscripts and instruments in his paintings. In his works Domenichino reflected the most progressive aspects of musical taste. As the Carraccis' reaction against mannerism manifested itself in their "reformation" of painting, there had been a growing response by a number of eminent composers and musical theoreticians as early as the mid fifteenth century who were critical of the "abuses" in music, and in particular polyphony.[2] The main debate focused on the Roman composer Palestrina and his followers. One of the most illustrious groups of critical musicians the *Camerata*, was established in Florence around 1580 by Vincenzo Galilei and the Count Bardi and Count Corsi. In Venice, Claudio Monteverdi the *Maestro di Cappella* at St Mark's, headed a further attack, and in Bologna, Ercole Bottrigari took up the cause.

One of the aims of this chapter is to describe aspects of the musical scene in Bologna, Rome and Naples in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. It will be suggested that Domenichino was responding to very specific intellectual developments which were taking place in the musical world. It will be seen that this relationship is borne out by the fact that Domenichino sought to return to classical sources for inspiration in his art and his musical experimentation. It shall also be shown that it was through a calculated play upon different modes of expression, gesticulation and dramatic action, that Domenichino effectively heightens the

emotional response of the painting, in the same way that the rhetorician or singer moves his audience through the use of different inflections and modulations of tone in the voice.

Domenichino's Musical Education

The available evidence suggests that Domenichino's interest in music was founded in the Carracci *Accademia*. It is well documented by Malvasia, Bellori and Passeri that, under Agostino's guidance, Domenichino's interest in music developed and thrived. Bellori describes Agostino as the leading light in matters of poetry, rhetoric and language in the *Accademia*:

> As a result he wrote discourses and orations and inspired by the muses, composed songs and verses, which he set to music for the lute, viola and lyre and [he] was enraptured by song.[3]

It is clear from Malvasia that Agostino was also greatly interested the construction of musical instruments, and we are told that he built a violin in two nights.[4] As a student at the *Accademia*, Domenichino was well aware of musical trends and developments in Bologna. He was acquainted with a number of local Emilian composers and their works. In particular he knew Girolamo Giacobbi, the *Maestro di Cappella* of San Petronio in Bologna, who related much of the information about Domenichino's interest in music theory to Malvasia. As Malvasia quotes, Domenichino:

> . . .liked music excessively. Whence as a child other than talk about art he appreciated the conversation of Consoni and Righetti, *Maestri di Cappella* and although he did not know well the practical aspects of music he was able to discourse on theory with such depth that many professionals wanted to hear him and profit from his speculations. . .so related Giacobbi, *Maestro di Cappella* at San Petronio.[5]

Paolo Consoni was a vocalist at the cathedral of San Petronio in Bologna, and Righetti[6] (a student of the Bolognese musical theorist Annibale Meloni) like Domenichino, was interested in musical theory and the ancient practices of the Grecian modal system. One of the most eminent musical theoreticians in Bologna was Ercole Bottrigari, with whom Meloni and Giacobbi were acquainted.[7] It is plausible that through Agostino, Giacobbi, Consoni, Righetti and Bottrigari that Domenichino became aware of the debate between Bottrigari and Giovanni Maria Artusi, who was the canon of the church of S. Salvatore in Bologna, which focused on the construction of the Grecian modal system.[8]

Artusi was a devout follower of the musical theoretician Gioseffe Zarlino, whose *Institutioni armoniche*, first published in 1558, remained one of the most profound texts on the Grecian modal system well into the eighteenth century. Zarlino was one of the first musical theoreticians to reject polyphonic music, which he saw as artistic sophistry. He believed that music should imitate nature and used classical sources to support his arguments. Beginning with the (harmonious) primary consonance (or notes sounded together which do not create harshness of sound), he saw the possibility of using a system based on the harmonic series, which was unknown in his time. Zarlino was also the first to realise the system of just intonation, and produced classical evidence to support his view-point.[9] He was also one of the first to suggest that the modes have distinct and very specific qualities, and that each conveys a different mood and emotion.[10]

Bottrigari who was in direct competition with Artusi, was a prolific writer and translator of classical and modern theoretical texts on music into Italian. His first book, *Il Patricio* appeared in Bologna in 1593. His main criticism was levelled at the composer Francisco Patrizi, whom he had befriended at the court in Ferrara, over his interpretation of the Aristoxenian divisions of diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic tetrachords. This same argument was further amplified in an anonymous treatise

entitled *Del libro il Patricio overo de' Tetracordi d'Hercole Butrigario* of 1601. The nature of the treatise and style of writing would suggest that Meloni was the author, although this cannot be fully substantiated.[11] If Meloni was the author, Domenichino may well have known of or even read the work during his years studying at the Carracci *Accademia.*

Passeri pointed out Domenichino was conversant with the debate about the construction of Grecian modal system. The foundations of Domenichino's approach to music theory was based on the writings of Zarlino and Bottrigari.[12] The latter argued that Zarlino's theoretical principles on the modal system were flawed. Bottrigari believed that it was wholly correct that the diatonic and chromatic systems could be combined. For example, he believed that A to B is one whole tone, B-C and A-G sharp, two semi tones. Therefore, A = 9/8 or a tone, if added to two 16/15 semitones, results in an interval in the ratio 32/25. Artusi assumed that the synotic diatonic tuning system, advocated by Zarlino, was the only possible one for unaccompanied voices. The interval of C-G sharp is therefore a dissonant interval. It is neither a major nor a minor third, and Artusi questioned the validity of this system. For Domenichino, Bottrigari's system offered greater opportunities than he had previously realised to construct a chromatic scale, that is, one in which diatonic notes could be added in the way of accidentals, something which is reflected in the musical notation found in Domenichino's paintings.

Artusi's penchant for polemics found its expression in his *Seconda parte dell' Artusi overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica*, (1600), in which he argued that the diatonic scale and accidentals were of little use, serving only to confuse the listener. This criticism was directed at Bottrigari, Galilei and Monteverdi, who advocated this system. Since there was no clear understanding of how the Grecian modal system worked, or how it was constructed, the concerns

were how the modal system could be incorporated and interpreted from a theoretical point of view.

The visual evidence of musical manuscripts within three of Domenichino's own paintings, helps to establish his own practical and theoretical view-point. The musical notation in all the paintings follows the *stile rappresentivo* (recitative style). This new style, or the *stile moderno*, dubbed by Monteverdi as the second practice or the *seconda practica*, differentiated the new vocal style from polyphony in that it placed the melody ahead of the harmony and, unlike the ancient style or the *stile antico*, did not make the words subservient to the harmony.

Musical Manuscripts and Imagery

One of the paintings that perfectly reflects Domenichino's theoretical stance was commissioned by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi in 1617. The painting of Saint Cecilia (plate 54) was described in the 1633 Ludovisi inventory as:

> A St. Cecilia playing a viol with a putto, who holds high a book of music, in front, of a black edged border and gold acanthus by the hand of Domenichino [13]

The painting which celebrates the life of the Roman virgin-martyr and patron saint of music, was commissioned shortly after Domenichino's completion of the Polet Chapel fresco cycle in San Luigi dei Francesci in Rome, and is one of Domenichino's most important Roman fresco cycles. This work is loosely based on Raphael's Saint Cecilia with Ss. John the Evangelist, Augustine and Mary Magdalene. Guido Reni was commissioned to paint a copy of Raphael's painting which was to be hung over the altar in the Polet Chapel 1613-15.[14] Domenichino must surely have known of Reni's own painting of St Cecilia, (1606) which was held in the Borghese collection, since he borrows the same figural pose, but reverses it.[15]

Raphael's Saint Cecilia was in many respects also a starting point for Domenichino in that he borrows the same use of posture and controlled expressiveness.[16]

In Raphael's painting, we see St. Cecilia with the other saints standing before a number of instruments which are broken. An organetto slips from her hand as she is transported by the superior music of the heavenly choir. Domenichino represents the saint in a similar pose: she is seen holding a *viol de bastarda*[17] (derived from the *viol di gamba*) but is not surrounded by broken instruments at her feet, instead a single recorder rests on the parapet. Like Raphael's saint, she looks heavenward, her mouth slightly open as if speaking or singing. Thomas Connolly, however, observes that: Cecilia, ". . .she sang in her heart. . .."[18] Connolly's point is that what we see is not a literal verbal pronouncement of the saint singing, but an internal spiritual one. The musical text within the painting is of a simple monodic line with a figured bass continuo. The *libro di musica* is inscribed with an antiphon in honour of the saint (illustration no. 6).

> Cecilia the virgin sang in her heart at her organ and always kept the gospels within her soul.[19]

The key signature is in E flat Major, and the meter is in 4/4 time.[20] Unfortunately there are less than fifteen bars which are discernible in the painting, and a number of these are extremely difficult to read. The detail of the painting shows the saint suspending the fourth string on the second stave. It can be judged that she is playing G, in accordance with to the tuning system established by Adriano Banchieri in *Conclusioni nel suono dell' organo*. This system was most commonly adopted in Bologna and well known throughout Italy at the turn of the seventeenth century.[21] The tuning of the strings on the *viol de bastarda* usually followed, D, G, C, e, a, d, g.[22]

The painting also reveals important information on how the instrument was played. The instrument held by St. Cecilia is the largest member of the viol family. It is likely that it would be played standing up. The musical text is most unusual: the

vocal line and figured bass show no relation to each other. The vocal line is in itself well composed and thought out, and the figured bass is competent, the two together do not work. This suggests that Domenichino married two separate texts, or more likely, that he was not really attempting to portray an actual piece of musical notation.

There are two questions that must be considered. The first is whether Domenichino was given the musical references by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi. This is a possibility, because Ludovisi was himself a keen amateur musician and he may well have directed Domenichino to incorporate a piece of musical text with which he was conversant. This however, raises a second question as to why two separate texts were chosen instead of a complete composition. Using Benvenuto Disertori's article *Il Domenichino pittore transcrittore di musiche e musicologo*,[23] Spear has argued that the musical text is possibly taken from a piece by Giacobbi or by the Florentine composer Giulio Caccini. However, there does not seem to be any correlation with Giacobbi style of composition and the musical text in the St Cecilia. The qualities of figured bass give reason to believe that the piece may be have been composed by Domenichino. It may even have been that Domenichino introduced a *centone*, or medley of tunes, incorporating a little of this and that in a symbolic manner. Thus, the underlying symbolism may be more important than the actual musical notation. An artist like Domenichino would naturally wish to demonstrate his keen assimilation of the most modern ideas and incorporate them into his own painting. By introducing a seven stringed *viol de bastarda*, an instrument which did not come into fashion until the mid to late 17th century, Domenichino is exhibiting his progressive and advanced taste for new and innovative instruments.

Domenichino creates a very sophisticated illusion, by seemingly suspending time. The saint is seen in action, caught bowing on the viol. Through the suspension of time and motion within the painting, Domenichino has manifested the highest

aims of artifice or *artificio*, by portraying the saint playing, and thus profound issues are being implied through the painting concerning the senses. The concept of visual and auditory perception was grounded in Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian rhetoric, where vision is seen as the highest of the senses.[24] Leonardo believed the sense of hearing was less noble than vision because as soon as music was born it died, whilst painting surpasses "unfortunate" music since it did not die instantly after creation; music withered whilst being born.[25] Domenichino also introduces the sense of touch since the saint suspends the note of G on the instrument itself. The viewer, through faculty of sight, is able to imagine that music is being made. This is further supported by the saint singing. Her mouth is open as if uttering the words of the text on the manuscript. The musical notation is another indication. By introducing a visual example of a musical text, the viewer is again able to follow her playing, thus substantiating the visual reality of the scene. The implication is that the music being played is suspended, frozen in time and does not die as it is being made.

It has been seen that Domenichino was responding to Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian theory that sight was the foremost sense. This is only one of a number of examples that proves that Domenichino was following the latest trends in music theory in his painting, the principles of which, were based on classical ideals.

Another factor which is important in this discussion concerns Domenichino's use of frame and the fictive space of the painting. The frame of the painting is echoed in the parapet. The decorative motif of carved acanthus leaves on the frame is also echoed on the bottom of the parapet. The recorder and book which rest on the parapet are no longer within the fictive space of the painting but seemingly jut into the space of the viewer. Domenichino was obviously trying to reflect the *vero* or truth, and *verosimile* or the representation of things as they are seen, because Domenichino is portraying in pictorial terms, internal emotion and devotion combined with external and visual reality. St. Cecilia's own physical

experiences are being translated through the senses (sound and touch and sight). We are left with only sight because we cannot hear the music. By suggesting the saint is singing (although internally), and suspending the musical note of G, Domenichino offers us an opportunity to meditate upon her inner state of grace, and, in so doing, begins to reflect upon our own inner state of being. It is also possible that the note of G may reflect the saint's state of grace or *grazia.* Thereby the saint becomes the mediator, bringing the viewer to experience and reflect upon God.

Another example of this type of devotional painting based on the same theme of St. Cecilia (plate 55) in the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospigliosi in Rome. The painting was probably commissioned by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi. The history of Domenichino's painting of St. Cecilia is problematic. The painting was first identified in the Ludovisi inventory of 1633 as "a St. Cecilia with three putti. . .[it has a] black frame with a prolific border of acanthus in gold, by Domenichino."[26] The dimensions of the painting match those given in the inventory of Duke Giovanni Battista Rospigliosi in 1713.[27] There is no decisive evidence for thinking that this painting came from the Ludovisi collection, although it does seem likely that it is the same work or possibly a copy.[28]

Domenichino used Ludovico Carracci's painting of St. Cecilia, (plate 56) now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina in Rome, as a model for his own work (plate 57). A new discovery was made by the author of a preparatory pen and ink drawing of St. Cecilia At Windsor Castle which is presently attributed to Annibale. It is suggested here that Domenichino may have been the original author of the work.[29] The drawing does not have the usual flowing lines and gracefulness of touch associated with Annibale's technique. There are a number of differences between Ludovico and Domenichino's paintings, in particular, the drapery around the saints shoulders and the angle of the saints head. The drawing at Windsor relates directly to a St. Cecilia by Domenichino in the chapel of the Founding Saints in the Grottaferrata (plate 58).

The inspiration for Ludovico and Domenichino's paintings is derived from Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli's Girl Playing the Clavichord. Domenichino would have known of this painting from his visit to Parma in the 1590s, where it was part of the decoration for the organ in San Giovanni Evangelista. It is based on Parmigianinio's figure of St. Cecilia on the celebrated organ shutters in Santa Maria della Steccata. Domenichino again introduces a musical text and a couple of instruments.[30] The sitting putto holds a score which again is in the *stile rappresentivo*. The *libro di musica* is based on the Latin text in honour of the saint.

Two drawings held in the collection at Windsor further attest to Domenichino's observations and interest in music making.[31] The first drawing has a girl seated playing a portable organ, the second a harp, along with two children who are shown singing (plate 59). The scene is set in the country-side with a building lightly sketched in the background. The second drawing shows a group of ladies in full figure, possibly dancing (plate 60). Two of the three figures carry instruments, one a flute, the second a harp, the third holds a book. The style of drawing is loose, relaxed and quick suggesting Domenichino drew from life perhaps whilst watching a concert in progress.

There is further evidence of musical notation in another painting, this time of the Cumaean Sibyl (plate 61), commissioned by the Borghese in 1616. The sibyl is seen sitting, holding in her hands a scroll of music and a book.[32] The instrument behind her is a *viola da gamba* (6 strings). The musical text is possibly derived from Giovanni Battista Guarini's madrigal "*Cor mio deh non languare*," which Caccini introduced into his 1602 publication *Le Nuove Musiche*. The presence of this text truly underlines Domenichino's interest in the new musical styles that prevailed during the period. *Le Nuove Musiche* was a conglomeration of past works and new compositions by Caccini. Caccini observes that, "[I] produced the book of songs to bring into line how the pieces were to be properly preformed."[33] It can be said

"properly" since a criticism was being levelled against the vocal techniques that were being employed by many singers of the time. Most of all, it can be suggested that Domenichino wishes to make a critical point against the exaggerated ornamentation used by singers:

> . . .it seemed to me that these pieces of mine have been honoured enough. . .But I now see many of them circulating tattered and torn; moreover I see ill-used those single and double *roulades*-rather than those redoubled and intertwined with each other-developed by me to avoid the old style of *passaggi* formerly in common use. . .I see vocal *crescendos* and *decrescendos esclamazione tremolos* and trills used indiscriminately. thus I have been forced (and urged by friends) to have pieces of mine published and in the first publication explain why to my readers by means of the presentation of this discourse the reasons that lead me to such a type of solo song.[34]

The collection contains 12 thorough composed (with complete figured bass) madrigals and 10 strophic arias. What is seen in The Cumaean Sibyl is part of a strophic aria (illustration 7). The nature of the aria follows the natural rhythmical speech patterns of the text. It was, however, usual for the singer to embellish, or ornament, an aria. Domenichino had obviously seen the text since he incorporates a small piece of the manuscript in The Cumaean Sibyl.

Le Nuove Musiche was also one of the most popular collections of arias in its day. There are a number of associations to be drawn between the subject matter and the music. The Cumaean Sibyl, like her sisters of the ancient world, was a divine foreseer of the future. She foretells of the coming of Christ through the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin:

> Great Cumaean, oracle and magician, you have given a prophesy that there is to be, one of rank, a prince born of a Virgin who shall be sent from high, who shall have royal power over Saturn.[35]

Here the analogy is to "prophetic revelation." The sibyl looks heavenwards, her lips parted as if uttering the revelation to her audience; she points to the musical text at the same time, but there are no words on the scroll. The empty pages of the book she holds open may allude to Christ's coming and the fact that her revelation is yet to be fulfilled. Therefore, the viewer is encouraged to decipher her pictorial message, through the allusion to the coming of Christ, even though she may not be able to see God. Domenichino, by representing the *stile rappresentivo*, supports the view that the sibyl is a divine visionary of the ancient world. The music also refers back to ancient Grecian types.

The Florentine *Camerata*

The most progressive composers of the period, particularly those of the Florentine *Camerata* (of whom Caccini was a member) and with whom Domenichino was acquainted, used their own methods to recreate the sound of Ancient Grecian music and modes. By using Neo-Platonic conceptions of natural speech inflection to create the recitative style, they fused together the stylised accents of natural speech rhythms and those of music. The *Camerata*, established around 1590, criticised Renaissance polyphony, in particular, its treatment of words. Their claim was that contrapuntal music literally tore and destroyed the poetry because individual voices sang different words simultaneously. The *Camerata* insisted that the sense of the whole written passage should be portrayed rather than just a single word. From the *Camerata's* theoretical discussions came the notion of the recitative. As a consequence they abandoned contrapuntal music in favour of monody. It is worth quoting at length Caccini's statement in his introduction to *Le Nuove Musiche* because he voices the concerns of the Camerata and their ideals:

> . . .in the times when the most virtuous *Camerata* of the most illustrious Signor Bardi. . .flourished in Florence, and when it was assembled not only a

> great part of the nobility, but also the first musicians and men of talent and poets and philosophers of the city and I too frequently attended it. . .for these gentlemen always encouraged me and convinced me not to follow with the clearest reasons, the old way of composition of music, not suffering words to be understood by the hearers, ruins the conceit and the verse. . .such music and musicians give no other delight than what harmony can give to the ear for unless words can be understood they cannot move the understanding [hence] I have endeavoured in those late compositions of mine to bring a kind of music by which men might, as it were, talk in harmony. . .[36]

The Florentine *Camerata* recommended the imitation of classical orators such as Cicero and Quintilian. They did so because they believed that through the manipulation of the vocal range and rhythms one was able to portray greater characterisation and increasing drama. In *Istituto Oratoria* Quintilian says to the orator that "the prime essential for stirring the emotions in others is firstly to feel the emotions oneself."[37] This concern for natural declamation was to be expressed through the use of new musical devices; for example, in the use of simple strophic lines, (following the natural forms of sentence construction) with a *ritornello* (or a resumption of the introductory theme), so as to enhance and give coherence.[38] The *Camerata*, turned their attention to the writings of Plato and Aristotle and focused on the use of metric rhythms in Greek poetry.

Plato was the first writer to establish the tradition of combining poetic imagination and religious feeling with an intense and genuine interest in both mathematics and numerology. The evolution of the harmonic language, particularly due to Vincenzo Galilei the father of Galileo Galilei was established within a psychological framework concerning the perception of musical ratios as found in Plato's Timaeus and The Republic.[39] Vincenzo Galilei was one of the first of the *Camerata* to "rediscover" an original Grecian musical text. The text he discovered was the Hymn of Monodes, but, as he was unable to make sense of the musical

notation and its construction, he consequently interpreted or reinvented what he believed to be a true representation of an original Grecian musical text in his own manner. The problem Galilei faced was how to construct this new musical form of the *stile rappresentivo* from what little the members of the *Camerata* knew of classical texts.

Agucchi, Domenichino's faithful friend, was in regular contact with Galileo Galilei whilst he was in Rome between 1611-13, their correspondence is well documented.[40] Galileo's ideas on music (like his father's) reflect those of Agucchi and Domenichino's ideas on art. In particular Vincenzo Galileo's ideas reflected Domenichino's theoretical and intellectual interest in translating the *affetti* and *invenzione* into pictorial form.

Agucchi's theoretical arguments and criticism against *maniera* painting echo the theoretical arguments about music made by Galileo in his *Il primo libro della prattica del contropunto intorno all'uso delle consonanze*,

> Passions and moral character must be simple and natural or at least appear so, and their sole aim must be to arouse their counterpoint in others...the principal part of music. . .is none other than to induce in the listeners the same affection of those who recite mainly through the means of well-expressed text. . .only for these reasons stated and not for any other did Plato and Aristotle approve of music in the well ordered Republic.[41]

The core of this argument concerns the preference for clarity of emotional expression, over the disfigurement of polyphonic music. This preference is expressed by Vincenzo Galilei in his 1581 publication, *Diologo della Musica Antica della Moderna*:

> Modern musicians aim at nothing but the delight of the ear. . .but only how to disfigure it still more. . .in truth the last thing the moderns think of is the expression of the words with the passion that these require.

In his *Discorso sopra la musica*, Vincenzo Giustinani, an important collector of art and music who commissioned Domenichino to paint St John the Evangelist in early 1628, recognised the importance of recitative style, proper instrumentation and the reliance of the singer to communicate the *affetti*. Again, it is worth quoting a fairly extensive passage from Giustinani's *Discorso* because the ideas expressed echo those being developed by Domenichino in his paintings, and in particular the use of the *affetti* and appropriate expression:

> . . .[singers] moderated or increased their voices, loud or soft, heavy or light, according to the demands of the piece they were singing; now slow breaking off the with sometimes a gentle sigh, now singing long passages legato or detached, now groups, now leaps, now with long trills, now with short and again with sweet running passages sung softly, to which sometimes one heard an echo answer unexpectedly. They accompanied the music and the sentiment with appropriate facial expressions, glances and gestures, with no awkward movements of the mouth or hands or body which might not express the feeling of the song. They made the words clear in such a way that one could hear every last syllable which was never interrupted or suppressed by passages and other embellishments.[42]

These remarks provide further evidence for thinking that oration was part of the classical education in the *Scuola di Grammatica*, encompassing gestures, words and facial features as complimentary vehicles for the communication of human emotion. Bellori points out that Domenichino would often retire to a room on his own to act out and experience the *affetti* of each of his characters, before drawing them out on paper.[43]

Domenichino paints a broad range of incidents: humorous and light hearted, as well as menacing and tragic. For example, the realistic scenes, human responses and gesticulatory action in Saint Cecilia Distributing Alms to the Poor in the Polet Chapel in San Luigi e Francesi, in Rome shows the poor fighting over the spoils

(plate 62). To the viewer's right we see a woman about to hit a child for wrenching a garment from a young boy. On the far left, two small children are trying on a hat. The anecdotal and even humorous strains were meant to amuse, but they also serve an important and serious purpose, to convey a sense of every day life, thus strengthening the view that the scene is rooted in reality. On the other hand, they broaden the emotional appeal by spreading the *affetti* across a broad spectrum of society. This makes the work universally significant to all. Using very clear and visually provoking poses and expressions, Domenichino has observed the full range of humanity from the "simplicity of children, the languor of the aged, the compassion of women [to] the ageing of men."[44] Bellori quotes Domenichino, who in turn was referring back to Quintilian, when he says "for the actions of man in painting, one needed not only to be contemplative and recognise the *affetti* but even to feel them one's self, to act out and experience the *affetti* expressed."[45] Domenichino seems to be echoing the sentiments of Guistinani: that the aim of the singer, like the painter, is to convey through the *affetti*, the correct and appropriate action and emotions in relation with the subject matter at hand.

The Reformation of Music and the Council of Trent

It has been pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, that even before the *Camerata* or the Carracci began their "reformation" of music and painting respectively, a number of eminent theoreticians and theologians were arguing that musicians, like painters, needed to look at classical models for inspiration. The correspondence between musical and artistic reform was also highlighted during the Council of Trent. As early as 1549, Bishop Cirillo Franco pointed out that, "the musicians of today should endeavour to do what the sculptors, painters and architects of our time have done, who have recovered the art of the ancients . . .."[46] Franco was in many respects reflecting the humanist view of text-expression and the

exaggerated use of contrapuntal music in opposition to homophony. The criticism that contrapuntal and polyphonic music was confusing and extraneous, serving no purpose but to show off the compositional powers of composer, is clearly allied to the Council of Trent's dictates that polyphony, like mannerist art, interfered with the listener or viewer's potential for religious communication. Domenichino argued that the primary purpose of art was to persuade the viewer of the suffering of Christ, or the goodness and grace of a saint, a conviction also at the core of Galileo's thinking on the reform of secular and religious music.

Much of this criticism was levelled at composers such as Palestrina, Felice Anerio, Giovanni Bernardino Nanino and Ruggiero Giovannelli· These composers dominated the musical scene in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century. To some degree Palestrina's position was unique in that he never fell completely out of favour. His role as the "saviour" of church music was seen in the light of the Council of Trent's dictates in 1562-3 concerning polyphonic music as being just a "scandalous noise."[47] In the decrees of 1562, it was stated that:

> All things should be so ordered that the masses, whether they be celebrated with or without singing, may reach tranquillity into the ears and hearts of those who hear them, when everything is executed clearly and at the right speed. In those masses which are celebrated with an organ and singing, let nothing profane be intermingled, but only hymns and divine praises. The singing should be so arranged not to give empty pleasure to the ear, but in such a way that the words may clearly be understood by all, and thus the hearts of the listeners be drawn to the desires of the heavenly harmonies, in contemplation of the joys of the blessed.[48]

Palestrina's reputation was firmly established by one Mass, the *Missa Papae Marcelli*. Published in 1567, the Mass was dedicated to Pope Marcellus II, who reigned for a mere three weeks in 1555. The piece seems to have been composed in response to the debate over the Roman Catholic liturgy. Extremists at the Council of

Trent wanted polyphony, with its sometimes scant regard for textual clarity, banned in favour of plainsong. Upon hearing the mass, the extremist element of the Council were so moved that they modified their decision and warned composers against "impure and lascivious" compositions.

At the beginning of the Baroque era the *stile antico* was not cast aside, but was deliberately preserved as a "second language." Many progressive composers were forced to accept the *stile antico* which was fashioned after the style of Palestrina since conservative elements within the catholic church wished to preserve the traditions of polyphonic music. As Palestrina's own style faded away, replaced by more progressive composers, the legend that he was the saviour of church music became more powerful.

The Musical Scene in Bologna and Rome

Frank Tirro has brought to light interesting information on the music in San Petronio in Bologna. In particular his research on Giovanni Spatgro's choir book (ca. 1590s), has provided us with a new understanding of the type of music being employed and the favoured composers of the 16th century.[49] The choir book contains Mass settings by one of the most notable Bolognese composers of the 1570-90s, Ascanio Trombetti, who was a follower of Palestrina and an advocate of extremely complex pieces in the polyphonic style. His *Paratum cor meum* (1589), is a prime example of his style because it uses large choral forces (the Mass is scored for five parts). On the reverse side, Giacobbi was producing Mass settings that reflect the new *stile moderno* in the early 1600s, such as his Mass *Apud Angelum Gardanum* (1601). These widely different compositions show nature of Bolognese music during this period. However, Giacobbi was one of the first composers in Bologna to produce Mass settings that reflect the innovations of the Florentine *Camerata*. It can

be suggested that the Carracci, and Domenichino in particular, were introduced to the new trends in music theory and practice through Giacobbi.

From the evidence available, it is known that the Carracci invited a number of very eminent musicians to the *Accademia*.[50] Two paintings by Annibale, one in the Capodimonte in Naples of the Parmese composer Claudio Merulo (plate 63) and the second in the Gemaldegalerie in Dresden of the lutenist Senatore Mascheroni (plate 64), may support the view that Annibale was well acquainted with both men.[51] The portrait of Merulo shows the composer in the process of writing down some music. In both cases Annibale has included a fragment of a musical text. In each portrait there is not enough of the text to try and decipher its the authorship.

It is also likely that Agostino and Ludovico were acquainted with the Olivetan monk Adriano Banchieri, who was based in the monastery of S Michele in Bosco, where he assumed the position of organist in 1596.[52] Ludovico was working on the fresco cycle in San Michele in Bosco around the same period as Banchieri was in residence. Banchieri acknowledges Ludovico as the master of Reni and Albani, in the introduction to his *Conclusioni nel suono dell organo* and also mentions the frescoes in San Michele in Bosco (Appendix, 4, pp. 353-358).[53] Banchieri's works were regularly published and produced in Bologna. His works were known throughout Europe, the most famous being *La pazzia senile*, which was based on the amorous adventures of the *commedia dell'arte* character Pantalone. These comedy madrigals show elements of the *stile moderno* by using a figured bass continuo, and clear vocal construction. These madrigals show a number of similarities in style to the Roman composer Girolamo Frescobaldi, who also may have known Domenichino.

It has already been discussed that Domenichino travelled to Rome in 1602 to assist Annibale with the fresco cycle in the Palazzo Farnese. It was probably during this period that Domenichino was introduced to the leading lights of the artistic and

musical world in Rome through the Aldrobrandini and Agucchi families. At this time Domenichino may have met Frescobaldi, the private composer and musician of the Aldrobrandini, at the Villa Aldrobrandini whilst completing his fresco cycle in on scenes of Apollo in the Stanza di Apollo.[54] Famed in Rome as the organist of the Cappella Giulia, Frescobaldi was also *Mistro de Cappella* at Santa Maria in Trastevere during Domenichino's execution of the Assumption of the Virgin. Images of musical themes abound in the Stanza, which was used for concerts and other recreational activities.

The fresco cycle is derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and relates the exploits of the god Apollo, the patron of music. In The Judgement of Midas (plate 65), Domenichino sets the figures of Apollo, Marsayus, Midas and a group of satyrs in front of an idyllic mountain scene, with a waterfall and villa perched on the right hand side. Domenichino probably drew elements from the landscape of Frascati, and specific scenes which could be viewed from the villa and surrounding gardens.[55]

Heavenly Hosts: Angelic Orchestras and Choirs

Domenichino often incorporated an angelic chorus, or instrumentalists, into his religious works. It is therefore of importance to this discussion on music to devote some time looking at the historical development of angelic choruses and musical angels to see from where Domenichino was drawing his ideas and inspiration. In The Martyrdom of St Sebastian (plate 66) in Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome, Domenichino portrays an angelic orchestra who trumpet forth and announce the coming martyrdom of Saint Sebastian.

The nature of the angelic orchestra and chorus finds its roots in the medieval period. King David, son of Jesse, was often portrayed in the Middle Ages, especially in Psalters, with four musicians Asaph, Ethan, Heman and Idithun. Since Christ was associated with the four Evangelists, it is easy to understand why painters used this

image from the book of Psalms and in turn assigned four musical angels with the Virgin. Since the Virgin was a descendant of the house of David she is portrayed with the same attributes as her ancestors. Domenichino adopted this configuration in The Virgin and Child with Ss. John the Evangelist and Petronius (plate 67). One of the most important texts from the Middle Ages, *De Psalmorum libro Exegesis*, also asigns each of the four musicians to a specific instrument: cymbala, cyrnira (a Latin corruption of kinnor the Hebrew word for lyre) cithara and tuba. References to angelic orchestras and choruses comes out of the tradition of the *Harmonia Mundana*. The cosmos of Plato and Aristotle is ruled over by the gods or muses who are the protagonists in creating the *Harmonia Mundana*, as Plato writes in the Republic:

> . . .on top of each circle (sphere) is a siren who goes round with them, humming out a single note or tone. The eight together form a harmony, and round it, at equal intervals, there is another band of three in number, each sitting on a throne, they are the fates, daughters of necessity. . .[56]

The concept of the *Harmonia Mundana* was redeveloped and redefined to create the angelic hierarchy. Dionysius's famous treatise written in the early 6th century The Celestial Hierarchy, was one of the most important Early Christian texts based on Ezekiel ch28.v13. Whilst the treatise on the hierarchy was widely accepted as a source for many later descriptions and representations of musical angels and orchestras, the text makes little reference to music, laying its emphasis on the duties of the angels. The text also assigns each of the orders with a specific colour. The most widely read text on music theory during the Renaissance and well into the seventeenth century was Boethius's *De Musica*, written in the second or third decade of the sixth century. There is an extant text which accompanied the treatise which gives an interesting record of the hymn *Naturalis concordia vocum cum planetis* (eleventh Century). The hymn explains the construction of the universe along with

the natural concords of the planets and their relationship within the *Harmonia Mundana*. By the fifteenth century the Dionysian construction of an ordered Angelic Hierarchy was less strictly adhered to. This is not to say that certain artists introduced references to some kind of musical system in their works, for example Raphael introduces six singing angels at the very top of his St. Cecilia. It would not be injudicious to suggest that Raphael was referring to the six authentic church tones.[57] It will be shown that in The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes, Domenichino may well have returned to reinterpreting these ideas, re-evaluatuating the doctrines laid down by the Council of Trent and in particular in Paleotti's *Discourso*.

In The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes[58] the imagery of the painting can be read on many levels. The iconographic imagery of Saint Agnes' death is portrayed through the use of dramatic *affetti*.[59] The violence of her death and agitated figural grouping, particularly the right hand group of women and the two prostrate figures who lie to the left,[60] is contrasted with the heavenly vision above. Again we see a celestial orchestra; an angel receives the floral crown and palm frond from Christ, symbolising Agnes' martyrdom and crowning glory as a saint. Colouristically and tonally the painting is divided into two separate units, the heavenly and the earthly. The range of colours in the earthly scene is limited to the very dark hues of the palette, blues, browns and greys. Domenichino uses strong contrasts of *chiaroscuro*, figures emerge from the darkness lit from the heavenly glow above. Unfortunately the painting no longer hangs in its original setting; however, it is clear that the light source emanated from the viewer's left. The central scene of the painting is illuminated, whilst the sides are in *chiaroscuro*, suggesting that there was a single light source from a narrow window located at 45 degrees to the left of the work. This is also evident from the way the shadows are cast at the same angle in the painting. The features of the executioner are partially hidden by a strong shadow cast over his face. Saint Agnes, however, is bathed in the divine light and we see the full

expression on her face as the knife is plunged into her throat. She observes the heavenly vision and her salvation in Christ, whilst her executioner is blind to the eternal light of her revelation and faith in God:

> The God of this age has blinded the eyes of the unbelievers so that they cannot see the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God. For God said let the light shine out of darkness and light shine in our hearts to give us the light and knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ.[61]

The heavenly vision is bathed in a harmonious balance of unified hues and tones, reflecting the nature of God's divine light as all embracing. Each of the six angels of the celestial orchestra holds a different musical instrument (recorder, lute, cello, harp, organ and violin). Domenichino uses a very sophisticated analogy concerning the construction of the orchestra in relation to the hierarchy of the angelic orders, the instruments they support and the specific colour of their garments.

Images of celestial orchestras were not uncommon in the Carraccis' works. However, the degree to which they carry any intellectual importance is not known. Domenichino may have seen that he could engage the viewer by cleverly manifesting theological concepts of the *Harmonia Mundana* through colour, instrumentation and the suspension of specific notes upon the instruments. The heavenly and earthly scenes can be seen as analogous to music. Domenichino effectively creates a key or change of mode between the two sections of the painting. On a very simplistic level Domenichino is conveying very different moods. On another level the painting reveals very sophisticated ideas on colour/music harmonics. It has already been suggested that the angels play an important role in the painting. If one analyses the robes of the angelic orchestra, it can be said that there is a correlation between the musical and colour scale. The robes are sequentially ordered in terms of a scale from pale green, green, yellow, red, grey/purple and dark blue. It is likely that Domenichino was making a direct reference to Dionysius's The

Celestial Hierarchy, in which he assigned each of the angelic orders with a specific colour and musical tone. Each of Domenichino's angels holds an instrument, and can be seen suspending a note. There is a real possibility that each angel is playing one of the six authentic church modes. On one level the imagery of the heavenly scene is clearly readable by all, but Domenichino's painting also contains a level of sophistication that may have only been evident to a well educated elite. It was mentioned in the last chapter that Domenichino's experiments with colour harmonisation and tonal scales, can be linked to his own interests in instrumental construction, an issue that deserves further consideration.

Domenichino's Musical Instruments

Giovanni Battista Doni,[62] the Florentine humanist praised Domenichino's musical experimentation. Therefore, it would be likely that Domenichino knew of Doni's *Compendio del trattato de generi e de' modi della musica* (1635) on the Grecian modal system, and the Lyra Barberina which Doni constructed two years earlier.[63] Doni cites the painter as one of the leaders in developing new types of harpsichords "with many keyboards, intended for the revival of the ancient chromatic and enharmonic genera." Doni specifically refers to the "recently built one that Signor Domenico Zampieri, illustrious Bolognese painter, refined in taste and other matters, especially the study of architecture and harmony has designed."[64] It is worth quoting at length, Passeri's comments on Domenichino's interest in the practical application of the Grecian modal system through the building of musical instruments, because it substantiates so many aspects of this discussion. Passeri, who worked under Domenichino relates that:[65]

> He built with his own hands some musical instruments, that is archlutes, but of extravagant invention and size, which I saw in Rome when having fled from Naples, he lived there he thought to introduce them, by the way of a new and unusual

> manner, all of the tones and semi tones of all four perfect parts through many divisions of keys on a long neck of the instrument in the manner of citterns. As for the means of connecting them (he didn't use sheep gut) strings but copper wires and strove for a simultaneous bringing together in a single scale the variety of all the diatonic, harmonic and chromatic harmonies taken from the dorian, lydian and phrygian modes obtaining variety from his key board in which divided up melody entirely, so that either naturally or by chance it comprised of musical skill all of the parts. This new mode of his was impractical although all the knowledge lay behind it was not badly understood. He had years of experience that facilitated his dealing with this instrument in a way that all of the accompaniments were conveniently placed for easy hand access. All the same he made evident the subtlety of his mind in a profession that was not his own. He had a harpsichord built by Oratio Albani the celebrated harpsichordist at the time, and I was present when he ordered the key board for it, for which he made a cartoon containing in addition to the octaves with bass and soprano parts, many divisions of semitones in the black keys to bring forth the sharps and flats that can occur with the numbers of a perfect harmony in the accompaniments. This hard labour lead to no immutable discovery. He wanted it to be made with a single register, the reason being that he said that multiple registers served no purpose but to keep an instrument out of tune more readily since every string whether doubled or trebled is nothing more than a unison.[66]

There are a number of points that need to be addressed concerning Passeri's letter. We unfortunately do not know what each string was tuned to and what modal system Domenichino employed. Passeri mentions that Domenichino constructed a new mode, but it was impractical, partly because he incorporated the diatonic, harmonic and chromatic scales. If this was the case then Domenichino's instrument may have had split semi tones, consequently the possibility arises that this instrument also incorporated quarter tones as well. In so doing, Domenichino recognised that the musical scale, like the colour scale. could be divided into

innumerable number of quarter tones. Again it would be worth citing the six angels in The Martyrdom of St Agnes, and in particular the palette in the fresco of St. Luke in Sant' Andrea della Valle as an example of this, in which the colours are arranged from white, yellow red/ochre, light brown and brown. Domenichino's interest in instrumental construction can be seen to echo Zaccolini's theoretical experiments with colour scales. Thus the pictorial evidence goes some way to suggest that Domenichino was in fact trying to draw parallels between the scales of colour and music. Passeri's comments about Domenichino's musical activities in particular Domenichino's construction of a new modal system is important because it helps substantiate the claim that Domenichino's colour harmonisation can be seen to match sound.

Bellori supports Passeri's view that Domenichino built a number of instruments during his stay in Naples. He introduces an autographed letter to Albani dated the 17th of December 1638 from Naples. This letter is problematical, since all of the composers mentioned had been dead for at least twenty years. Spear mentions the discrepancy but he does not question the validity of the letter.[67] The letter implies that these events took place during the years of Domenichino's stay in Naples. Whatever the case it is worthy of discussion since it supports Malvasia's, Bellori's and Passeri's claims that Domenichino was interested in instrumental construction. Passeri writes of Domenichino:

> Lately lacking in any conversation or diversion I necessarily afford myself some pleasure in music on occasion, and in order to listen to it I have set myself to making instruments and I have made a lute and harpsichord, and now I am having a harp done with all its diatonic chromatic and enharmonic genera; something never invented or made before. Because it is something new for musicians of our century I have not as yet been able to have it played. I regret that Signor Alessandro[68] is not alive who said I would never be able to make such an instrument, whereas Luzzasco [Luzzaschi],[69] has tried it out. The Prince

> of Venosa [Carlo Gesualdo],[70] has been here in Naples and Stella [Scipione][71] [both] leading musicians have not been able to fathom it. If I return to my home town I will have an organ made of this type.[72]

Evidence of Domenichino's interest in hybrid instruments can be seen in a number of his paintings. In King David Playing the Harp (plate 68) Domenichino portrays the king playing a triple stringed, chromatic harp.[73] The two outer ranks were usually tuned identically and the inner rank of chromatic notes set between them. The duplicating strings of the outer ranks produced sympathetic resonance, thus creating a strong tonal character.[74] There are two (chromatic) harps of this kind in the Museo Civico in Bologna, both which pre-date 1620. Domenichino probably had seen these instruments in Bologna. In King David Playing the Harp, we see an elaborately carved harp. The front column is carved with an angel or harpy and acanthus-like decoration (plate 69). Van der Meer dates the harp to 1625, but in light of the similarities with the Bologna examples and the harp in Domenichino's painting, it may have been constructed around 1618-9. There are small changes in the painting, in particular the carved acanthus design at the back of the harp is pared down and the scroll pedestal is not included by Domenichino. It is possible that Domenichino remembered the basic design or made a number of drawings of the harp and referred to them in this painting. Van der Meer mentions that the harp is fairly inferior. The sound board has warped and the woods used are not of high quality. In the painting of King David Playing the Harp, the harp is portrayed as being gold in colour. The Museo Civico harp was originally gilded as there is still evidence of a gessoed ground and some gilding around the figure of the harpy. In The Martyrdom of St Agnes, The Virgin and Child with Ss. John the Evangelist and Petronio and King David Playing the Harp Before the Ark (in San Silvestro al Quirinale in Rome plate 70), Domenichino portrays another smaller chromatic harp. These harps relate to a second and less elaborately decorated instrument in the Museo Civico (plate 71). With future research new evidence may come to light,

concerning other instruments that can be associated with Domenichino, particularly those built by his own hand, or those by Oratio Albani made to Domenichino's specifications.

In the period that has just been examined, music was equated to mathematics, (or the fundamental principles of the cosmic order), which was reflected by Domenichino's commitment to reforming painting and music through the rediscovery of dramatic clarity through line and form, subordinating all that was conceived as self-indulgent and confusing of mannerist art and polyphonic music and reverting to a new form of classicism. For literary artists, musicians and painters, they had at hand exemplars of a modal system, which could be found in the texts of classical antiquity. Thus for Domenichino, like the composers and theoreticians of the Florentine *Camerata*, they sought to create a new art form, which reflected classical ideals. Doni recognised the contribution Domenichino made to musical experimentation and its development and that the painter's efforts were serious and informed. It was the degree and success of his involvement, not so much with music in the practical sense, that lends distinction to his activities. Music had long been studied by painters in tandem with mathematics, the sister of architecture, therefore it was seen as a composite of the creative development of the artist, expressing universal truths. Like the composer/conductor who conveys emotions through music or the rhetorician who tries to convince his audience through language so the painter engages the beholder through the medium of his art and the *affetti* expressed in it.

As in the previous chapter, it has seen that Domenichino was indeed responding to a method of colour harmonisation, which matched that of sound, and if his musical exploits do indeed suggest that he was systematically trying to construct new musical modes, then it is not unreasonable to think that his paintings will reflect modal-like qualities as well. If this is the case, then Domenichino was in a remarkable way reflecting in his art a method of modal expression which his

student, Poussin was later to imitate and articulate in his famous letter on the modes, to his patron Paul Fréart de Chantelou.

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[1] Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, (trans. George Bull), Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 94. Castiglione seems to be echoing Aristotle's views on the function and use of music, for recreational purposes. Aristotle, Politics, Book VIII, (trans. Benjamin Jowett), pp. 132-133.

[2] Many sounds. Music in which several simultaneous voices or instrument parts are combined contrapuntally, as opposed to monodically.

[3] Bellori, ed. 1971, p. 92.

[4] Malvasia, ed. 1841, I, pp. 265-66, 328, and Bellori, 1672, p. 105.

[5] Malvasia, II, ed. 1841, p. 241. "*Gli piacque in eccesso la musica, onde, anche putello, altra conversazione fuor dell'arte non aggradiva, che quella del Consoni e dal Righetti, mastri di cappella: e se bene ei non ne sapea più che tanto la practica, ne discorreva per teorica con tali fondamenti e ragioni, che molti della professione volevano sertirlo ed approfittarsi delle sue nuove speculazioni. . .Tanto riferiva il Giacobbi mastro di capella di S. Petronio.*"

[6] For a brief history on Consoni and Righetti, see Benvenuto Disertori, 1966, p. 12. Righetti may have come from a long and distinguished line of Bolognese musicians. There were Righetti's in the Concerto Palatino from the late Fifteenth century onwards. Many thanks to Dr. Susan Weiss for this information.

[7] For a brief history, see New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (ed. Stanley Sadie), Macmillan Publishing, 1980, vol. 3, Carol MacClintock, p. 93.

[8] ibid, vol. 7, Peter Smith, p. 344.

[9] In particular, Zarlino introduced the system of triads rather than intervals, and the importance about the major and minor; he also tried to break down the old prejudices of using parallel fifths and octaves.

[10] Dorian, C-g-C. ". . .*est bellicosus, seuerus, prudentiae, castitatus, majestatis & constantiae custos, heroicis versibus & lyrae aptus est, tubae sonum imitatur. . ..*"

Hypodorian, g-C-g. ". . . *spondaeus appellatur & ijsdem propientatibus gaudet, quibus authentus; tubam enim belle repraesentat & cantioncum popularium amicus est. . ..*"

Phrygian, D-a-D. ". . .*est entheus & tibijs, dithyrambisque congruit, maxime vero rebus diuinis, atque religiosis amicus est. . ..*"

Hypophrygian, a-D-a. ". . .*moerori congruere aiunt, cum in eum cantiones b mollares cum blanda tristita incidant.*"

Lydian, E-b-E. ". . .*barbarus, & querulus appellatus est, & a Platone temulentus & mollis, pui iuxta Aristotelum pueuris conueniat.*"

Hypolydian, b-E-b. ". . .*tristem queremoniam, & supplicem lamentationem a quibusdam habere dictur, ita tamen ut rebus religiosis aptus sit; puto quidem aptum esse, ut referat tristia, & ad lachrymas excitet. . ..*"

Mixolydian, F-c-F. ". . .*tragoediarum choris, necnon vernaculis cantilenis, & saltationibus aptus; quamvis eum ad res bellicosas referendas egregij musici eligant; ad quod tritoni durities inseruire potest.*"

Hypomixolydian, c-f-c. ". . .*durus est ob meditationem sub tritono factam. . ..*"

Hyperdorian (Aeolian) G-d-G.

Subhyperdorian, d-G-d. ". . .*sacris cantonibus frequens dulcidine affluit, & mirum in modum recreat, quo diuini numinis gratiam invocare solemus, turpes vero cantilenas respuit: sed neque ullo modo quis ad impudica explicanda unquam uti debet.*"

Hyperphrygian (Ionic, Iastian), A-e-A. ". . .*iucundus, & lyricis cantonibus ac saltationibus aptissimus, quiddam spirituale prae se ferre videtur.*"

Suphyperphrygian, e-A-e. "*ijsdem proprietatibus fruitur, quibus authenticus.*"

[11] In 1601 Artusi found a copy of the *Desiderio* in Meloni's hand amongst the papers he received from his widow. Meloni was accustomed to making copies of Bottrigari's writings, thus Artusi accused Bottrigari of plagiarism.
[12] Bottrigari wrote a lengthy and annotated treatise on Zarlino's *Institutione armoniche* entitled *Della musica mondana*, Bibliografica Musica Civico, Bologna (Buttrigari no. 44).
[13] Garas, 1967, p. 345, no. 118. "*Una Santa Cecilia che suona un violone con puttino, che tiene un libro di musica innanzi alto primi otto cornice nera profilata e rabassata d'oro di mano del Domenichini.*"
[14] Reni's father was himself an eminent musician in Bologna. For further reading, see, Pepper, 1984, p.19.
[15] Adriano Banchieri mentions, in his *Conclusioni nel suono dell' organo* published in 1609, that Reni also made a copy after Raphael of The Martyrdom of S. Cecilia, painted in 1601 for Cardinal Sfondrato for the Cappella del Bagno in S. Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome. Andriano Banchieri, p. 5. Banchieri's introduction was dedicated to S. Cecilia, giving a brief history of her life and musical imagery in Raphael's painting, pp. 1-6.
[16] For a history of the commission see Connolly, 1994, pp. 111-150. Also see, Stefaniak, Art History, Vol 14, no 3, September 1991.
[17] New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, 1984, vol. 3, pp. 736-753.
[18] Connolly, 1994, p. 4.
[19] "*Cantibus organis Cecilia virgo soli Domino de cantibat dicers fat domine cor mem (et corpo mem) immacentatum. Idt non confundar.*"
[20] The harmonic scale of E flat major is C minor.
[21] Banchieri, 1609, p. 52-55.
[22] Since levels of pitch were not regulated and written music bore no relationship at any permanent level, the pitch was movable up or down at convenience and therefore was available to voices or instruments at whatever pitch was chosen. Music was often written with local singers and instrumentalists in mind, but this did not stop these pieces being used else-where at the local level of pitch, which could be as much as a tone and a half different.
[23] *Atti della Roveretana degli Agiti*, VI, 1966, pp. 5-23.
[24] Plato saw sight as the highest of the senses. He writes at the end of Timaeus: "Vision is the cause of the greatest benefit to us, inasmuch as none of the accounts now given concerning the universe would ever have been given if men had not seen the stars or the sun or the heavens." Aristotle echoes the same sentiments in Metaphysics when he says: "for not only with a view to action, but even when we are not doing anything, we prefer seeing (one might say) to anything else. The reason is that this, most of all the senses, make us know and bring to light many differences between things." See Summers, The Judgement of Sense, 1987, chapter 1, "The Primacy of Sight," pp. 32-39.
[25] Leonardo on Painting, (ed. Martin Kemp), 1989, pp. 34-36. Leonardo's views on vision as the highest form of the senses is founded on Neo-Platonic concepts. Summers writes that Leonardo was probably conversant with Plato and Aristotle's views concerning sensory perception. See Summers, 1987, pp. 7-9.
[26] Garas, 1967, p. 339, no. 7. "*una santa Cecilia con tre puttini appo altra primi dodici, cornice nera profilata rabescata d'oro del Domenichini.*"
[27] "*Un Quadro in tela di p. 6e10 . . .tengono Istromenti di musica opera del Domenichino.*"
[28] See, Spear, 1982, p. 261.
[29] Wittkower, The Drawings of the Carracci at Windsor Castle, 1952, catalogue no. 398, p. 153. The drawing is described as, "A Female Saint (St. Cecilia?)" 145+107mm.. Pen and brown ink over red chalk.
[30] A viola and a 12 stringed lute.
[31] See Pope-Hennessy, 1948, p. 106. Catalogue entries P-H 1278 and 1279.
[32] The third of the Sibyls and prophetess of Cumae, made famous by the Sixth book of the *Aeneid* and the forth *Epilogue* of Virgil. Famed throughout the medieval period, the most notable texts are Bernard of Morval's *De contemptu mundi* and *Ovide moralise, poeme du quatrorzime secile*, (ed. C de Boer), Verhandlingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterunde, Niewe Reeks Amsterdam, 1938.
[33] *Le Nuove Musiche*, 1602, p. 7.
[34] *Le Nuove Musiche*, 1602 (ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock), A-R Editions Inc. 1970, p. 43.
The importance of the introduction to the songs lies in the fact that this is the first time that a composer discusses not only the practical aspects of the music, but that he also lays down the principals for the vocal technique. This is the first document to show the differentiating between vocal trills and tremolos. The Baroque trill differs from the modern trill, in that the modern trill is based on two tone system in which the

voice alternates between the two at rapid speed. The Baroque vocal trill begins on the same note but becomes steadily more staccato as it moves on.

[35] Virgil, *Aenied*, Book 4: "*Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas magnus ab integro saectorum nascitur ordo iam redit et virgo redeunt Saturina regna iam nova progenies cealo dimittitur alto.*"

[36] *Le Nuovo Musiche*, (ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock), A-R Editions Inc, 1970, pp. 44-45.

[37] *Istituto Oratoria*, VI, ii, 26ff.

[38] The term *ritornello* means to return, repeating the first sequence of the aria, thus you establish an a- b-a pattern.

[39]Plato, *Timaeus*, (trans. Desmond Lee), Penguin Books, 1977, pp.47-51. "As a result of this plan and the purpose of god for the birth of time, the sun, the moon and the other five planets as they are called came into being to define and preserve the measures of time. . .Anyhow, when the beings jointly needed for the production of time had been given their appropriate motion and become living creatures with their bodies bound by the ties of the soul , they started to move with motion of the different, which transverses the same obliquely and its subjects to it some in larger circles some smaller, those with smaller circles moving faster, those with larger moving more slowly. . .the second of the orbits from earth god lit a light, which we now call the sun to provide a clear measure which of all the relative speeds of the eight revolutions to shine through the whole heavens and enable the appropriate living creatures to gain a knowledge of number from the uniform movements of the same."

Plato, The Republic, (trans. Desmond Lee) Penguin Books, 1985, pp. 450-51. ". . .a shaft of light stretching above and through earth and heaven, like a pillar closely resembling a rainbow only brighter and clearer. . .this light is the bond of heaven and holds the whole circumference together...and from these ends hang the spindle of necessity which causes all the orbits to revolve. The first and the outer whorl had the largest rim; the next was the sixth, the next was the fourth, the next was the eighth, illuminated by the seventh, next the fifth, next the third and last the second. . .on each of the circles stands a siren which is carried round with it, from voice to voice calling them unison, second, third, forth and fifth and so on until names have been given to various degrees of pitch proper to the human voice."

[40] See Chapter Two, sub chapter, Domenichino and Agucchi.

[41] MS, 1588-91, (trans. Claude Palisca) The Beginnings of Baroque Music, pp. 221-22. For Galileo's late treatise see Remp, *Die Kontrapunkttrakate Vicenzo Galileis*.

[42] Vicenzo Giustinani, *Discorso sopra la musica*, (trans. C. MacClintock), Musicological Studies and Documents, American Institute of Musicology, XI, 1962, pp. 63-80. Also see, Spear, Domenichino, 1982, p. 44.

[43] Bellori, 1672, p. 347.

[44] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 221.

[45] Bellori, 1672, p. 347.

[46] Cirillo Franco's letter to Ugolino Gualteruzzi, Loreto, 16th Feburary 1549, (trans. Lockwood) ed. Giovanni Perigi Palestrina, Pope Marcellus Mass, pp. 13-14.

[47] See foot-note 51.

[48] November 11th 1563. *Concilium Tridentinum, Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum Tractatuum*, folio, 399, ed. Nova Collection, Frieburg, 1965, vol. 9a, pp. 1000-1004. Quoted in Robertson and Stevens, The History of Music, Renaissance and Baroque, 1984.

[49] Tirro, Renaissance Musical Sources from San Petronio, Bologna, (Gio Spatgro's Choir Books), 1986.

[50] Malvasia, ed. 1841, pp. 265-66, 328, and Bellori, 1672, p. 105. Malvasia also mentions that Ludovico regularly attended concerts both in Bologna and Cramona. Ludovico mentions attending a concert in Cremona where he heard a number of works by Sigismunde d'India.

[51] New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vol. 12, Denis Arnold, pp. 193-94.

[52] ibid vol. 2, William May, pp. 104-106.

[53] Banchieri is known to have visited Rome on a number of occasions, and certainly saw Reni's copy of St. Cecilia after Raphael then in the Borghese collection, since he makes a direct reference to this painting in the *Conclusioni nel suono dell organo*.

[54] Hammond, Girolamo Frescobaldi, Harvard University Press, 1983.

[55] Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi who was a regular guest at the villa and writes of Frescobaldi's madrigals as being cleverly devised to imitate the landscape and in particular the "rushes, cascades, hurls, jumps, dances, retreats and seethes and a thousand other things" of the fountains within the gardens.

[56] Plato, The Republic, ed. Desmond Lee, 1985, p. 451. This theme was common in Renaissance art. In 1589 Ferdinand I de' Medici was married to Christine of Lorraine in Florence. Through numerous

contemporary records both written and visual we have a fairly good understanding of the festivities. On the second of May 1589 the play *La Pellegrina*, by Girolamo Bargagli, was preformed with six intermezzi by the most famous and notable composers of Florence. Agostino Carracci made a number of prints based on the drawings by Bernardo Buontalenti of the set designs, one in particular shows the *Harmonia Mundana*.

[57] The six authentic church modes were A, B, C, D, E, G.

[58] The painting was commissioned through Reni by Pietro de' Carli, for the convent of St. Agnes in Bologna. It is documented by Malvasia that the painting was completed in Rome, as he mentions "*ben cosi principiata ma Roma poi seguitata e finita.*" Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, pp. 231-32. See Spear, Domenichino, 1982, pp. 216-17.

[59] Domenichino borrowed the same figural pose for St. Agnes and her executioner from Reni's Martyrdom of St. Catherine (1606-7) painted for the Costa Family for their private chapel in S. Alessandro in Bologna.

[60] The teenage St. Agnes was condemned to be burned alive, however it is believed that because she prayed so fervently the flames were extinguished, but not before striking some of the executioners, which is suggested by the unusual, if not correct presence of the two prostrate soldiers.

[61] Corinthians, chap. IV, verses 4-6.

[62] New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vol. 5 Claude Palisca, pp. 550-52.

[63] New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, (ed. Stanley Sadie), Macmillan Publishing, 1984, vol. 2, p. 577.

[64] Doni, 1635, p. 20. Doni also mentions Domenichino in his posthumously published *Della musica scenica* saying that he was an important designer of harpsichords with many key boards, in the tradition of Nicolo Vicentino. See Spear, 1982, p. 42.

[65] Passeri was present in Frascati and Rome after Domenichino's flight from Naples in the summer of 1634. See Spear, 1982, p. 3. Jocob Hess's edition of 1934, remains the most important work to date on Passeri's biography on Domenichino. See Hess, 1934, Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, p. XII.

[66] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 67. "*Fabricò, con le sue proprie mani, alcuni Istrumenti musicali, cioè a dire, Arcileuti, mà di stravagante inventione, e figura, et io li viddi in Roma nel tempo che vi dimorò, fuggito da Napoli. Pensava egli d'introdurre, in quelli, con nuovo modo, et inusitato, tutti li tuoni, e semituoni, di tutti quattro le parte perfette, per mezzo di molte spezzature di tasti, posti nel manico longo dell' Istromento, fatto nella guisa di quelli delle Cetre; tanto nel modo di contcatenarli, quanto nella materia, che non sono di corde fatte di budella d'agnello, ma di rame: e voleva portare ad un tempo medesimo, in un sol tuono, la varietà di tutta l'armonia Diatonica, Armonica, e Cromatica, presa dal Dorio, dal Lidio, e dal Frigio, cavandola da quella nell' artifitio della Musica in tutti parte.Questo suo nuovo modo, benche non mal'inteso, quanto alla scientia, si rendeva inpracticabile; havendo già l'esperienza di tanti anni facilitato l'uso di trattare questo Istromento con prontezza alla mano; tuttavia fece egli conoscere la sottigilezza del suo ingegno in una cosa lontana dalla propria professione. Fece anche fabricare un Cimbalo, di Oratio Albani, in quelli tempi celebre Cimbalista, et fui presente quando ne ordinò à quegli la tastatura della quale haveva fatto un cartoncino à proportione giusta alla grandezza del Cimbalo, che che conteneva, oltra le attave stese, tanto nella parte Basso, come del Soprano, molte spezzature di semituoni nelli tasti neri, per cavare tutti li diesis, e li molli, che posano accadere nei numeri d'una perfetta armonia nell accompagnature: ma questa sua fatica non introdusse nessuna nouvità imitable. Volle che fusse fatto con un solo registro; la rigione (dicva egli) che la moltiplicità ogni corda, o doppia, o triplicata, non è altro, che unisona.*"

[67] "Domenichino it will be recalled, wrote to Albani in 1638 that "Luzzasco" had tried out his harp. The ensuing foot note is important because Spear cites Disertori 1966, p. 12, who accepts that Domenichino meant Luzzasco Luzzacshi. See Spear, 1982, p. 43.

[68] See Parigi, 1931, p. 55. Also see, Disertori, 1966, p. 12, and Spear, 1982, p. 43.

[69] New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vol. 11, Edward Strainchamps, pp. 378-801.

[70] ibid, vol. 7, Lorenzo Biaconti, pp. 313-324.

[71] ibid, vol. 18, Keith Larson, pp. 113-14. The date of Stella's death has not been confirmed, but it would not make any substantial difference as he was dead before Domenichino's arrival in Naples in 1631.

[72] Bellori, 1672, p. 358. "*In questi ultimi tempi, per necessità, non hauendo alcuna convesatione ne divertamente, casualmente mi diedi un poco diletto alla musica, e per urdine, mi posi à fare istromenti, [e] ho fatto un liuto, [e] un cembaldo, [e] hora faccio fare un' arpa con tutti li suoi generi Diatonico,*

Cromatico, [e] enarmonico: cosa non più stata fatta, nè inuentata. Mà perche è cosa nuova alli musici del secolo nostro, non hò potuto per anco farlo sonare. Mi rincresce non sia [uivo] il Signor Aleßandro, il quale disse ch'io non haueri fatto cosa alcuna, mentre il Luzzasco ne haueva fatto prova. Quì in Napoli vi è stato il Principe di Venosa, e lo Stella de' primi musici, e non l'hanno potuto ritruare: se verrò alla patria, voglio far fare un' organo in questa maniera." SeeSpear, 1982, pp. 40-41. Malvasia mentions that Domenichino regularly attended concerts in Naples. Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 241.

[73] New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, 1984, vol. 2, pp. 161. Also see Van der Meer, *Strumenti Musicale, nella Museo Civico de Bologna*, 1993, in particular pp. 135-37.

[74] The tuning of the harp followed E, F, F sharp, G, G sharp, a, a, b, b sharp, c, c sharp, d, d sharp, and so on.

Chapter Six

Modes of Imitation and Expression

So far in this study the issues of colour theory and practices have been directed towards a specific study of what Domenichino learnt in the Carracci *Accademia* in Bologna, and in Rome. The aim of this chapter is to analyse a number of Domenichino's paintings to see if there is evidence to suggest that he was reflecting certain colouristic and harmonic qualities which could be equated with his interests in music. Whilst Domenichino's interest in musical theory and practices is well documented, the issue of the musical and colour modes has never received full attention. This is not surprising. There is little documentary evidence to support the view that Domenichino was initiating a system where colour could be seen as imitating different musical modes.

The correlation's between colour and musical harmonies cannot be simplistically explained by saying that Domenichino was responding to a specific *modus operandi*, which tied music to colour, and *vice versa*. Neither is it enough to merely analyse his paintings and suggest that Domenichino was trying to create a specific "mode." It is important to discuss how the viewer reads and interprets what mode or mood is being represented, not by looking at the imagery, but also Domenichino's use of literary sources. The main focus of this chapter will be to look at three paintings and three architectural drawings to demonstrate how the different modes and moods are expressed. The works chosen here are some of the best examples of how the modal system operates in Domenichino's paintings.

Domenichino and Poussin: Modes of Expression

One of the first painters to discuss and justify the qualitative relationship of colour in terms of the musical modes was Nicholas Poussin.[1] Poussin entered

Domenichino's studio in 1628 where he remained for a period of seven or eight months. It is documented by Passeri that Poussin very much admired Domenichino's style of painting, in particular The Flagellation of St Andrew in S. Gregorio Magno in Rome and The Last Rites of St. Jerome, as well as his frescoes in Sant' Andrea della Valle.[2] It is probable that Domenichino introduced Poussin to the works of Matteo Zaccolini during this period. In the next chapter it will be shown that Domenichino learnt much from Zaccolini during his visit to Sant' Andrea della Valle in 1623. There are many aspects, particularly in the manner of Poussin's handling of shadow projections and perspective, which he may have assimilated from Domenichino and Zaccolini.[3] Domenichino may well have also discussed issues of music theory and practices with Poussin. It is evident from Passeri, Bellori and Malvasia that Domenichino was more conversant than Poussin with the whole issue of the Grecian modal system and how the modes functioned in a practical sense. As we have seen in Chapter Five, Passeri's comments on Domenichino's interest in instrumental construction (in particular a number of hybrid instruments and the construction of a new mode), suggest that Domenichino had a better understanding of both the practical and theoretical aspects of music. Jan Bialostocki, in his article "*Das Modesproblem in Den Bildenden Künsten*," has pointed out that "Denis Mahon had seen by hinting at the early interests of Domenichino, examples of applying the mode theory found in Poussin."[4] This adds further weight to the hypothesis that Poussin was articulating a view-point which he learned from Domenichino and Zaccolini. It has been established that Domenichino may have been trying to construct systematically a scale of colour which could be matched to a specific musical mode. This evidence can be found in Zaccolini's *De Colori* and *Prospettiva del Colore* and also in the palette of St Luke in Sant Andrea della Valle.

Rinaldo and Armida

In 1581, the year of Domenichino's birth, Torquato Tasso published his *Gerusalemme Liberata*. This "epic" poem was to become one of the most popular of its day through-out Europe. There is evidence in the Raspantino will to suggest that Domenichino owned a copy of the poem, and it is likely that Annibale had read or had a knowledge of the work because both painted a scene from the Sixteenth Canto, stanzas 1-25. The Canto deals with the knight Rinaldo and his seduction by Armida. Annibale's painting was one of the earliest portrayals of this theme from the poem.[5] In Domenichino's version of the subject (plate 72), he rejected Annibale's composition and reinterpreted it in his own manner.[6]

Both artists create a fantastical setting, in the case of Annibale's and Domenichino's paintings we see Rinaldo and Armida in the garden of her palace, portrayed with vines and exotic birds. Domenichino's rendition is closer in inspiration to Tasso's poem. In the first stanza Tasso discusses Rinaldo's imprisonment in the palace:

> The palace great is builded rich and round,
> And in the centre of the inmost hold
> There lies a garden sweet on fertile ground,
> Fairer than that where grew trees of gold.
> The cunning sprites have buildings rear'd around
> With doors and entries false a thousand fold;
> A labyrinth they made that fortress brave,
> Like Dedal's prison or Porsenna's grave.[7]

Tasso describes in the canto that a number of soldiers are looking for Rinaldo and trying to save him from the amorous advances of Armida. In the picture this is clearly depicted. Two soldiers are seen spying upon the couple. There is a possibility that Domenichino like Annibale, drew inspiration from, the model of Susannah and the Elders. The implication is that, like the Elders, the two soldiers are voyeurs who, like the viewer, happen upon the scene of the seduction. The one soldier puts his finger to his lips, telling his companion to keep quiet. Like the soldier, we the viewer are asked to do the same. The viewer is stunned into silence and gazes upon the beauty of Armida.

Rinaldo, by holding a mirror up for Armida, allows her to look and admire her beauty, so the two soldiers looking upon the scene (as we do), look upon her with the same eyes:

> A crystal mirror, bright, pure, smooth and neat;
> He rose and to his mistress held the glass
> She with glad looks, he with inflam'd (alas)
> Beauty and love beheld both in one seat
> She in the glass, he saw them in her eyes.[8]

The painting, then, seems to be about looking, and ways of seeing. Tasso includes numerous references to the visual. The emphasis upon the "*occhi*" or eyes, and the inter-play between the soldiers looking at Rinaldo and Armida is fundamental.

Domenichino and Tasso have through their own respective mediums, created and constructed an ideal of feminine beauty. This echoes the poem precisely when Tasso says:

> So with rude the polish'd mingled was
> That natural seeme'd all, and every part
> Nature would craft in counterfeiting pass,
> And imitate her imitators art.[9]

Domenichino's vision is tied into a closer interpretation of the poem than that of his master. Domenichino, unlike Annibale, shows two turtle doves billing and cooing again referring directly to the poem (stanza XVI).

> She ceas'd; and as approving all she spoke
> The choir of birds their heav'nly tunes renew;
> The turtles sigh'd and sighs with kisses broke,
> The fowls to shades unseen by pairs withdrew.

Tasso has, through the written word, suggested that music of a kind is being created by the singing birds. The key or mode may be pitched towards the "heav'nly", and tranquil. Although we cannot hear the singing of the birds, Domenichino has suggested in the painting that the two turtle doves are billing and cooing, their breasts puffed up, as if uttering their sighs.[10]

The subject matter would have undoubtedly been popular, not only because of the intrinsic beauty and human interest, but because it was part of a long and well established tradition of pastoral imagery stretching back to antiquity. The audience would not have missed the references by Tasso to Ovid's Metamorphoses and his rendering of the story of Venus and Mars, Venus and Adonis or Aurora and Endymion, along with other classical tales about mythical lovers, which were popular in the Renaissance and Baroque. Annibale even borrowed the figural pose of Venus and Adonis from a wood-cut illustration taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses, published in Lyon in 1559. The audience would also have understood the references to the *Chanson de Roland*, Boccaccio's The Decameron, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and other "epic" romances.

Domenichino and Agucchi had read or at least had a knowledge of Tasso's *Discorso del Poema Eroico* (1594). This can be supported by documentary evidence from the Raspantino will, which suggests that Domenichino had a copy of the *Discorso* in his collection. Tasso's *Discorso* is a classic example of an idealised theory, based on classical and Renaissance poetry. The prominence of the classical example is evident: in the writing of this "epic" poem, Tasso had in mind Homer and Aristotle's theories based on the Greek epic as well as Virgil. For Tasso, the "epic" dealt with the actions and deeds of the heroic and superhuman as well as the noble and illustrious. Tasso also firmly advocated that the prime aim of the poet (like the painter), was to give pleasure. Like the painter, the poet was able to draw upon classical and contemporary models, thus creating an idealised form of art.[11] Tasso also suggested that the poet should not be tied to portraying the truth, but should treat the facts in his own way. The artist was free to invent and alter the events. It has already been established that Domenichino, like Tasso, was famed for his *invenzione* and *affetti*. Bellori and Malvasia recognised Domenichino's ability to translate into pictorial terms, an imaginative and realistic reproduction of the poetical word. Thus Domenichino's rendition of the subject of

Rinaldo and Armida would suggest that he consciously sought to establish a specific mode, one which reflected the "epic" theme of Tasso's poem.

The background is painted in dark browns and greens. Rinaldo's robes are predominantly in orange/red tones and Armida's in dark slate blue/grey. The most noticeable aspect of the work is Domenichino's use of light, which floods the two lovers. There is a definite juxtaposition of colouristic harmonies and *chiaroscuro*. Domenichino's intention was obviously to try and create and capture a certain mood, one which reflected the poetical word. Colouristically the painting seems to work on a number of levels. The foreground of the painting is gilded in a pale yellow/lemon light, which is highly unnatural. If the setting was set at twilight there would still be tinges of pale light in the background. However, the mid and background are dark and sombre. This suggests that there is a more sinister aspect to the painting. This would not have been lost on the viewer, if they had a good grasp of the poem. The fact that Tasso refers to Armida's "fortress" as a "prison" or "grave" is aptly portrayed by Domenichino. He is incarcerated, not only within the walls of the castle, but his heart is bound to Armida, from whom he is unable to escape. The painting therefore has ominous overtones as suggested by Tasso. The painting can possibly be equated with the Lydian mode, which Plato and Aristotle believed was dark and moody. Zarlino, who accepted Plato and Aristotle's view, described in his *Institutioni armoniche* that the Lydian mode was "ominous," as did Doni in his *Compendio del trattato de generi e de' modi della musica*.[12] It would not be injudicious then to suggest that Domenichino was trying to reflect the Lydian mode.

Truth Disclosed by Time

The second work of discussion Truth Disclosed by Time (plate 73), is one of the largest and most important secular frescoes Domenichino ever undertook. The theme for this allegorical work included images of Apollo and a number of putti, as well as the

figures of Truth and Time. The fresco was commissioned by Costanzo Patrizi, the papal treasurer.[13] It is evident that Patrizi was part of an educated elite of *letterati* and *funzionari* or functionaries, within the Papal court. As Patrizi had contacts with many of the Papal families, including the Aldobrandini, Farnese and Agucchi, it is possible he was introduced to Domenichino by one of such contacts. Patrizi seems to have limited his patronage to a small and very select group of artists from the Carracci *Accademia*, including Lanfranco and Guercino. In the case of the Palazzo Costagnuti[14] frescoes, Domenichino was just one of a number of the Carracci students employed to decorate the main rooms of the Palazzo. Each of the frescoes is rendered in a very different manner. The frescoes are iconographically linked in terms of the subject matter. As the viewer walked from one room to the next, different topical aspects could be pointed to and discussed, concerning stylistic differences and iconography. Lanfranco's and Guercino's works exhibit all of the traits of the "Baroque" style, unlike Domenichino's which is "Classical" in mode. This raises the question as to why Patrizi employed artists of very different artistic temperament and style? It is probable that he wished to patronise some of the most fashionable, important and progressive artists of the day. There is documentary evidence to suggest that the Costaguti were so impressed by Domenichino's achievement, that they changed the original scheme and function of each of the rooms, using the Camera di Apollo as the "*Stanza nobile d' udienza*" for Papal visits.[15]

Although the Seicento biographers suggest that Domenichino's fresco was begun in 1615, Borea believes that the work, particularly the lower figures were painted in the early 1620s.[16] The main premise of her argument is that Truth shows remarkable similarities to the three girls in Domenichino's *Madonna del Rosario* who are sharply modelled, particularly their facial features and the pleating of the fabric with strong highlights on the edge of the cloth. One aspect which has not been touched upon is the actual facial features of Apollo, which look remarkably similar to those of Rinaldo in

Domenichino's Rinaldo and Armida. The loosely flowing locks and central parting of the hair, along with very classic features of the face derived from a colossal antique head of the Dying Alexander, prefigure those of St. John the Evangelist in Sant' Andrea della Valle. The figural pose of Apollo and design of the chariot would suggest that Domenichino drew his inspiration from Annibale's Triumph of Bacchus in the Palazzo Farnese.

Spear points out that Reni's Aurora (plate 74), in the Casino Rospigliosi in Rome, (ca. 1613-14), was also important in the development of the work. A drawing at Windsor Castle by Domenichino shows strong links with Reni's painting (plate 75),[17] which Domenichino reinterpreted. Domenichino was known to have owned a preparatory drawing of Reni's Aurora, later willed to Raspantino.

Although Reni's Aurora was the main starting point for the drawing, the other elements of the composition are borrowed from Annibale Carracci and the painter Peruzzi, in particular the tradition of representing Aurora with Tithonus. Other portions of the drawing may refer to the Cephalus and Procris legend. Domenichino borrowed this idea from Peruzzi's Aurora in the Sala delle Prospettive in the Farnesina. The hound in the sky might be Cephalus' dog Lealaps, and his spear which was so sure in its unwavering accuracy, is carried by Procris who, upon her death, was immortalised and accepted by Diana as one of her nymphs and given the attributes of a hound and spear. The putti in the sky are the precursors of those in the final work. Each of the putti in the drawing holds a different object. We see one with a shepherd's crook possibly referring to Hercules or Paris; a second holds book and pen (wisdom ?); a third holds an instrument, used for architecture or building possibly a plumb line or a mallet or right-angle callipers; the final putto holds an indecipherable form above the running hound. The drawing then deals foremost with Apollo-Aurora or Dawn-Day, as its central theme. Thus the allegorical message is about the daily cycle of Time.

In the fresco we see Apollo at the centre. Behind him are two playful putti in the sky holding a club and lion skin, probably referring to Hercules, who symbolise Strength or Virtue. In front of Apollo, a single putto holds Paris's golden apple and a shepherd's staff; he is also accompanied by a dog. The imagery would therefore suggest that this is a symbol of Beauty and/or faithfulness. The last two putti one holding a bow and arrow and his companion a viol, probably refer to Harmony and Love. The putti are derived from Raphael's fresco cycle in the Villa Farnesina, which Domenichino much admired.[18]

The iconographical imagery in the Domenichino drawing and in the fresco suggests that Time was not an isolated figure but inherently bound up within the overall conception for the Patrizi fresco. Truth is bound to the naked, winged Time, by whom she was fathered.[19] In Time's hand he holds a snake coiled upon itself, suggesting the circle of time. Truth seems to be looking heavenwards towards Apollo, the source of light. She is thrust up towards Apollo by her father. Apollo, the god of the Sun (and the personification of Goodness), moves through the heavens upon his chariot. Thus Truth is revealed by Time, and Goodness showers his radiance upon Truth, who rises up to him. The putto holding the instrument reflects heavenly concord and may well be referring to the *Harmonia Mundana*. Thus the sun, like the spheres, moves through the heavens issuing forth its music. He turns the spheres which create the *Harmonia Mundana*, and thus could also be seen as the architect of Time. The architectural setting adds weight to the overall construction of the fresco. Since architecture is based on numerical principles as is music, it too can be seen as frozen music.

The allegory is about Time and Truth and the noble Virtues of Strength, Beauty, Love and Harmony. Domenichino's handling of the figures is full of vigour and vitality. The fresco is painted in a mid-value scale of pale blue, yellow and browns, the combination of which, Zaccolini believed, could be equated with the most powerful musical chords.[20] Apollo is naturally associated with yellow and gold since he is the sun god. Yellow light floods the heavenly scene as well as the architecture from both above

and below. All of the hues are kept in check and tempered by the yellow light emanating from Apollo. Apollo, as the personification of Strength and Goodness, casts his sublime and benevolent light upon the viewer. Light becomes a revelatory element casting rays of sunshine upon Truth and Time. The implication is that the mode and mood being conveyed is pitched towards the divine as Apollo casts his light, and in so doing, reveals Truth Disclosed by Time. It can be said that the mode of the fresco determines and is determined by the allegorical subject matter of Domenichino's overall design. The question here is to what degree the imagery and balanced harmony of the colours across the painted surface plays a major part in establishing the basic key or mode of the fresco?

One possible means of establishing this is to analyse the architectural setting which might reveal something about the actual mode which Domenichino may have been employing. Domenichino sets the scene within a fictive architectural framework based on the Doric Order, which was usually equated with the Doric mode. Plato and Aristotle believed that the Doric mode evoked a settled and moderate mood upon the listener.[21] This is supported by Vitruvius in his Ten Books of Architecture, where he suggests that Apollo was associated with the Doric Order and mode. He points out that one of the Greek leaders, Ion, established a temple to Panionion Apollo ". . .such as they had seen in Achaea, calling it Doric, because they had first seen that kind of temple built in the states of the Dorians. . .the Doric column, as used in buildings, began to exhibit the proportions, strength and beauty of the body of a man."[22] It is therefore wholly correct for Domenichino to have portrayed the scene framed in the Doric mode of architecture as exemplifying Apollo the sun god and the personification of Strength and Goodness. If, as it has been suggested that Domenichino was trying to imitate and reflect the Dorian mode, the fresco certainly exhibits a constraint and moderation. There is no use of elaborate colourisation, *chiaroscuro* or figural gesture and posture. It has already been established that Domenichino derived much inspiration from the texts of

antiquity, as well as Greco-Roman and contemporary sculpture and painting. It can be seen that Domenichino was mirroring certain ideals, which were based on classical principles, and reflected modal-like qualities in this fresco. As a member of the *letterati*, Patrizi would have understood the references and may well have briefed Domenichino on the subject matter and mode in which the fresco was to have been executed.

Caccia di Diana

In 1616 Domenichino was commissioned by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to paint a secular work The Hunt of Diana (plate 76) of which this is the final study of the three paintings in this chapter.[23] The work was greatly praised by both Baglione and Agucchi[24] for its *invenzione* and the *affetti* portrayed. Bellori, too, praised this painting as "stupendous" for its art and invention. Bellori does not place it in a chronological order in his *Vita di Domenico Zampieri Il Domenichino*, but rather at the end as a "brilliant flourish."[25]

Bellori begins his description of the landscape, in particular he points to the edge of the painting, by making it clear to the reader that he is describing a work of art and not nature itself.[26] However, Bellori has implied that Domenichino was able to imitate nature and this work is an exemplar of Domenichino's excellence in landscape painting. Bellori goes on to describe in the style of Lucian: "he, [Domenichino] represents [that] happy region of Arcadia" (*ci rappresentano la felice regione d' Arcadia*. . .).[27] Bellori then goes on to detail certain points within the landscape, including the activities of the nymphs and Diana. Kurt Badt,[28] recognised the game being played by the nymphs who shoot the popinjay as stemming from Virgil's Aeneid.[29] He also suggests that Agucchi had a hand in proposing the iconographical imagery, an idea not entirely without foundation because Agucchi was in the employ of Cardinal Aldobrandini (who had originally commissioned the painting) at the time. Domenichino may well have conceived of the work after seeing Titian's Bacchanal which was in

Rome at this time. Raspantino's will also mentions that amongst Domenichino's possessions there was "a large history in red pencil of the Baccanal by Titian drawn by Domenichino, and a second, smaller. . ." plus a third copy of the work.[30] The painting is heavily indebted to Titian and Veronese, particularly its colourism. The rich blues and reds, shimmering light as well as the *cangiantisimo*-like effects of the fabrics, are hall marks of Veronese's style. The figures are, however, more in the style of Correggio. The *morbidezza* or softness of the skin is reminiscent of Correggio's *viva carne* or living flesh.

Benvenuto Disertori, in his preface to the Bossinensis' lute books (ca. 1507), mentions the connection between Alessandro Demophon and Domenichino's Caccia di Diana. Within the books appears a *centone* "*una legiadra bella e vagha nympha*" which leads Disertori to say:

> It is as if the divine author of the poem has been able to capture sight of some of the details of the "Hunting of Diana". This masterpiece was, in fact painted nearly a century later by the poet's fellow-citizen Domenico Zampieri, Il Domenichino. Here the story of the Demphon, the poem proves to be an incorrect substitute (*succedaneum*) for the painting. And the music, which is not exceedingly meaningful, proves to be inadequate to the poem. From this, as if from a perspicuous allegory, it is plausible to draw this conclusion: at that time, in Italian culture, particular attention was paid to the visual arts. In fact, although there was a certain harmony existing between poetry, music and painting, visual beauty was by far the most perfect.[31]

Although this is not a new concept, Disertori's comments on the mimetic qualities of painting are extremely valid. The fact that painting is not limited to just portraying or representing a landscape or person but is able to address poetical and musical themes and ideas is important to this issue of the modes. Domenichino would certainly have been conversant with Aristotelian notions of the mimetic arts as part of his basic education within the *Scuola de Grammatica*. It has already been pointed out that

Leonardo held the view that painting was one of the highest forms of art. He believed that music and poetry died as they were sounded, and that painting was the only art that was able to capture and reflect different mimetic qualities, suspended in a frozen moment, ideas which Domenichino was surely responding to. The title *Caccia di Diana* may hold clues to these ideas.

The term *caccia* has a double meaning. Not only does it imply "hunting" but it also relates to a poetic and musical form. Textually the *cacce* were pieces of music and poetry which related to hunting scenes, with realistic cries often included in the dialogue. Thus they are directly linked with the past-time of hunting.[32] The inspiration for such themes comes directly from Ovid's Metamorphoses, which was the precursor for the *topoi* found in *cacce* and in Domenichino's painting. Domenichino has established a basic discourse in *Caccia di Diana*. Demphon's *caccia* becomes the catalyst for Domenichino. He is able to express visually a literal translation of the musical *caccia*.

As in Rinaldo and Armida Domenichino reflects certain aspects of Demphon's poem, set to Bossinensis' *caccia*. Although Bellori does not point out who the author of the poem was, he does draw a number of comparisons between the poem and painting, in particular Bellori pays attention to the nakedness of some of the nymphs, remarking on their naked shoulders and breasts. Bellori then draws the viewer's attention to the young nymphs in the foreground of the picture plane, performing "*giocondissimi scherzi*", or joyful, playful game. Bellori focuses on the nymph with the barking dog, and her compatriot in the stream washing herself, who "turns her back a little and reveals her tender thigh" (. . .*che già tutta ignuda volge alquanto il dosso, e mostra il tenero fianco*). Two other nymphs enjoy the cooling water:

> one lying down flat with her hands behind her bed in the waters, and as she stretches out to reveal her breast and the rest of her body partly submerged in sweet repose. The second stands up concealed

> almost up to her breasts in the water points out the falling bird to her companion.[33]

The nymph, however, takes no notice of her companion and enjoys the cool liquid, her face turned upwards towards the viewer expressing her delight. She tantalises us with her provocative smile, sensuality and beauty. Within the context of the poem, the *ripresa* (or resumption) of the *centone* begins with "*Vidi hor cogliendo rose*" and intabulated next to it are the words, "loosen that piece of ribbon lacing your bosom and let me admire those violets of yours."[34] The overtly sexual connotations of the poem are literally portrayed by Domenichino. The seductive pose and her salacious smile, as well as the fact that the nymph seems to be trying to engage the viewer's eye is blatantly obvious. Domenichino, by including the two male figures on the viewer's right, may be suggesting voyeuristic connotations.[35]

Bellori establishes the view that this pleasure does not always lie in the representation of an event or story, but may also lie in the way Domenichino has embellished the work, through the *scherzi*. The viewer is drawn to the young nymph who speaks to her companion about the game taking place. The other nymph does not hear her words, but enjoys the water. Domenichino amplifies this, by the addition of the two shepherds on the right hand, in case the viewer looses sight of the interpretation. Bellori clearly understood the purpose:

> But see here from close up, in the far corner of the painting, in that thicket, two shepherd boys, hidden and furtive, poke their heads a little out of the branches and the leaves. One of them stops to watch with delight the naked Nymphs in the waters: the other makes a sign with his fingers to his lips, indicating silence. So that, being silent with them, we too employ our sight only and admire the image, celebrating the maker with eternal praise.[36]

Bellori is not expressing didactic qualities, but creating a style of prose filled with lyrical qualities. He seems to be suggesting that it is only through our gazing at the painting that we can intellectually come to any judgement concerning the *idea del bello*.

Bellori points out that the painting is set within a pastoral, Arcadian landscape, which may suggest that the mode is a "lyrical" one. Disertori, like-wise implies that Domenichino is representing "mythological and Arcadian themes" and may have drawn his inspiration from Demphon's poem "*una legiadra bella e vagha nympha*" as well as other *cacce*. Since the poem is neither in a "tragic" or "epic" style, it can therefore be suggested that it is in "lyrical" in mode. The musical setting of the *caccia* would also suggest this is the case, as the poem is set to a dance-like rhythm and tempo, and composed in a major key or mode, which was usually adopted for "lyrical" pieces of this type. The rhythmical pattern established by the figures in active movement, would suggest, like those of music, that a dance-like pattern was being brought into play. However, the painting is as much about hunting as it is about frozen sound. The young shepherd, by bringing his finger to his lips, suspends his companion's utterances as does the young nymph below her two arching sisters on the left. The dog, who has seen the two shepherds, barks, thus awakening the viewer to the shepherds. The nymph in the distant background sounds a horn and thus the *caccia* or hunting theme is sounded.

Architectural Drawings

Elizabeth Cropper, in her article "On Beautiful women, Parmiganino, Petrarchismo and the Vernacular style,"[37] discusses the nature of feminine beauty and the associations with Angolo Firenzola's *Dialogo delle bellezze delle donne*. Domenichino may well have known of the treatise, since Pietro Testa, a pupil of Domenichino's and Poussin were themselves conversant with the text. Testa's Düsseldorf note books testify to his having a knowledge of Firenzola's treatise, as one of the folios is dedicated to "*Particolari perfetioni che fanno la donna bellisima.*"[38] Cropper cites Firenzola, who states:

> Like the beauty of art the beauty of women is formed from a certain harmony and order of things...this harmony creates delight in the beholder and has the

> power to draw the mind to a desire of heavenly things. But this beauty cannot be adduced in a purely rational manner; a woman can be beautiful because of her proportions and her perfect individual features (and even in the absence of these), but also because of such all but indefinable qualities as *leggiadria*, *grazia*, *vaghezza*, *venusta*, *aria* and *maesta*.[39]

Cropper mentions that these terms become common place in the vocabulary of seventeenth century discourse on female beauty and artistic styles.[40] The linguistic terminology used for Reni and Poussin, who were famed for their *aria* and *grazia*, was no less evocative when discussing Correggio, Barrocci or Annibale and Domenichino.

The construction and proportions of feminine beauty are based on precise numerical ratios. These proportions stem from Vitruvian canons, particularly Vitruvius's discussion of Caryatides. Vitruvius discusses the proportional relationship between the Corinthian column and the female figure. As he states: "the third order, called Corinthian, is an imitation of the slenderness of a maiden; for the outlines and limbs of maidens, being more slender on the account of their tender years, admit of prettier effects in the way of adornment."[41]

Spear points out that Domenichino would have been given a very basic grounding in the rudiments of architecture in the Carracci *Accademia*. He also points out that the Carracci and their pupils were specialists in painting and rarely ventured outside this field.[42] All of Domenichino's biographers mention his interest in architecture. In particular Passeri mentions:

> After-work pastime was the study of architecture, to which he firmly applied himself, with the idea of practicing it in public projects. . .on the occasion of reading Vitruvius for architectural study, he delved into the consideration of music in which geometric measure is included and arithmetic numbers, which are not far separated from the rules of that science.[43]

Passeri's statement is further evidence that Domenichino's interest in architecture was bound to his exploits in music theory. In Chapter Four, the connection was made between the mathematical equations between music and architecture based on

numerical ratios. Since architecture can be said to reflect different modes, it is important to see that, like painting, architecture was able to express different qualities of expression and mood through the use of different modes.

Like so many Seicento architects, Domenichino was self-taught. In Chapter Three, it was pointed out that Raspantino held a large collection of architectural treatises that may have been willed to him by Domenichino. One of these books *L'idea dell' architettura universale* (1619), by Vincenzo Scamozzi, was one of the most popular working manuals on architecture during the seventeenth century. It is likely that Domenichino used this text. It is highly detailed in its observations on the mathematical and perspectival problems that any architect, or even a painter, may have faced in constructing the correct architectural proportions and orders. Scamozzi states in his introduction to the treatise that:

> As in all things order is to be observed [so] that we may avoid all confusion or else there will be chaos, as the poets of fantasy; so especially in this excellent Art of architecture it is a requisite that every part of every member has its right order and due proportion.[44]

Scamozzi, like Vitruvius discussed the numerical relations between the human form and architecture. Scamozzi described the different architectural orders and the appropriate use of them. In particular he point out that each order, like the musical modes, had the potential to move the viewer, evoking a particular mood. The Corinthian order was seen as delicate, reflecting feminine characteristics. The Doric order was personified the youthful male figure. Each architectural order was related (numerically) to a specific musical mode, as was suggested in the study of Truth Disclosed by Time.

Bellori mentions that Domenichino studied architecture upon his return to Bologna in 1619-21, just before Gregory XV nominated him as Papal Architect.[45] A number of drawings in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle attest to his interest and devotion to the subject, particularly the drawings for the facade of Sant' Andrea della

Valle. Only a few of the architectural projects that he undertook actually came to fruition.

Domenichino probably sought advice from the architect Carlo Maderno, who worked for the Aldobrandini and Ludovisi families at the same time Domenichino was in their employ. There is no documentary evidence to support this claim, but Domenichino's architecture shows similar stylistic qualities to Maderno's work, for instance in his use of Palladian-style motifs, free standing columns and broken pediments. Maderno was also the chief architect at Sant' Andrea della Valle at the same time that Domenichino was commissioned to begin the fresco cycle. Domenichino had also designed a portal for the façade of the Palazzo Lancellotti, which was another Maderno project.

It is not known whether Domenichino was ever considered for the commission of the façade for Sant' Andrea della Valle. He did however produce a number of sketches for a church facade (plates 77, 78, 79) Pope-Hennessy, Anthony Blunt and Spear all point to the fact that the drawings at Windsor are more than likely to have been produced in response to the commission.[46] Domenichino's studies show a number of different architectural styles. In the majority of the drawings he adopts the Corinthian order. There is a certain grace and delicacy in his style, which suggests that he sought to marry the external designs with the interior, which is based on the Corinthian order.

In the drawings, Domenichino creates a rhythmical pattern by breaking up the façade using free standing columns, pilasters, broken pediments, and shell motifs which he adopted in the decoration for the choir in the interior of Sant' Andrea della Valle. As most of the church was in the final stages of construction, Domenichino probably drew inspiration from Maderno's designs. The elegant Corinthian pilasters, and arches springing from the broken pediments, are highly decorative. The top of the pilasters and rim above the pediment are heavily gilded, contrasted against the grey and white walls.

Maderno's interior is light and spacious. In the same manner that a musician embellishes his music, Maderno and later Domenichino added gilt on the white stucco. As we will see in the next chapter, Domenichino spent a great deal of time considering the use of decorative motifs and how they could be harmoniously tied to the overall decoration of the church interior.

Both Bellori and Passeri point out that Domenichino benefited greatly from his contact with Zaccolini during the early months of the commission in Sant' Andrea della Valle. Bellori writes that Domenichino "advanced through the understanding of Vitruvius. . .in perspective and mathematics he made progress through the teaching of Fra Matteo Zaccolini."[47] Domenichino's contact with Zaccolini proved to be of great importance. As we will see in the next chapter, Domenichino changed his style of painting and handling of colour and perspective in response to Zaccolini's advice. In particular Domenichino came to a new understanding about the harmonisation of colour and *chiaroscuro*.

The issue of the modes cannot be confined to colour and music, but as has been explained, must also incorporate elements of architecture and poetry. Domenichino's intellectual pursuits were not bound within a narrow framework in which the Arts and Sciences were seen as separate and divorced subjects. The relationship between colour, music, architecture and poetry and how each functioned in terms of the modal system in painting was pertinent not only for Domenichino, but would have been readily discussed and disseminated by the patrons who commissioned the works. Poussin's letter to Chantelou articulates the general view that the role of the painter was to express not only modal characteristics through colour but also to convey and imitate poetical qualities as well.

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[1] In March of 1647, Poussin received a letter from one of his patrons Paul Fréart de Chantelou concerning his admiration of The Finding of Moses, which had been commissioned by Jean Pointel. Chantelou

expressed some jealousy about the painting, to which Poussin tersely responded. Félibien's *Entretien* IV, p. 445, (trans. by Maria Graham) Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin, London, 1820, pp. 114 - 116. "*Nos braves anciens Grecs, inventeurs de toutes les belles choses,trouvèrent plusiers modes par le moyen desquels ils ont produit de merveilleux effets. Cette parle "mode" signifie proprement la raison ou la mesure et form de laquelle nous nous servons à faire quelque chose nous astreint à ne passer pas outre, nous faisant opérer en toutes les choses avec une certaine médiocrité et modération n'est autre qu'une certain manièr ou ordre déterminé et ferme; dedans le procédépar lequel la chose se conserve en son être. Étant les modes des anciens une composition de plusieurs choses misesensemble, de leur variété naissait une certaine différence de mode par laquelle l'on pouvait comprendre que chacun d'eux retenait en soi je ne sais quoi de varié, principalement quand les choses, qui entraint au composé, étaient mises ensemble proportionellement, d'où procédait une puissance d'induire l âme des regardants à diverses passions. De Là vient que les sages anciens attribuèrent à chacun sa propriétédes effets qu'ils voyaient naître d'eux. Pour cette cause ils appelèrent matières graves, sévères et pleines de sapience. Et, passant de là aux choses plaisantes et joyeuses, il usaient le mode phrygien pour avoir ses modulations plus menues qu'aucun autre mode, et son aspect plus aigu. Ces deux manières, et nulle autre, furent louées et approuvées de Platon et Aristote, estimant les autres inutiles, ils estimèrent ce mode véhément, furieux, trés sévère et qui rend les personnes étonnées.J'espère, devant qu'il soit un an, dépeindre un sujet avec ce mode phrygien. Les sujets de guerres épouvantables s'accommodent à cette manière. Ils voulurent encore que mode lydien s'accomodâte aux choses lamentables parce qu'il n'a pas la modestie du dorien ni la sévèrite du phrygien. L'hypolydien contient en soi une certaine suavité et douceur, qui remplit l'âme des regardants de joie. Ils s'accommodent aux matières divines, gloire et paradis. Les Anciens inventèrent l'onique avec lequel ils représentaient danses, bacchanales et fêtes, pour être de nature joconde. Les bons poètes ont usé d'une grande diligence et d'un merveilleux artifice pour accommoder aux vers les paroles et disposer les pieds suivant la convenance du parler. Comme Virgile a observé partout son poèm, parce qu'à toutes ses trois sortes de parler, il accommode le propre son des paroles les choses desquelles il traite de sorte que, où il parle d'amour, l'on voit qu'il a artificieusement, choisi aucunes paroles douces, plaisantes et grandement gracieuses à ouïr; de là, où il a chanté un fait d'armes ou décrit une bataille naval ou une fortune de mer, il a choisi des paroles dures âpres et dèplaisantes, de manière qu'en les oyant ou prononçant, elles donnent de l'épouvantement, de sorte que si je vous avais fait un tableau, où une telle manière fût observée, vous vous imagineriez que ne vous aimerais pas".* See Bialstocki, "*Das Modusproblem in den Bildenden Künsten,*" Zeitschrift für Kunsttheorie, XXIV, 1961, p. 133-34.

[2] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 326.

[3] See Cropper, "Poussin and Leonardo: Evidence from the Zaccolini MSS.", Art Bulletin, 1980, LXII, pp. 570-83. Also see, Dempsey and Cropper, Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting, 1996, in particular Chapter Four, "On The Experience of Light and Color: Poussin, Padre Zaccolini, Cassiano al Pozzo and the Legacy of Leonardo."

[4] Bialostocki, 1961, p. 134.

[5] Domenichino was obviously acquainted with this work, since it was painted by Annibale during the commission in the Palazzo Farnese for the family. Both Bellori and Malvasia mention it as being inthe Farnese collection and it is cited in the Farnese inventory of 1653. See Cooney, *L'opera completa di Annibale Carracci*, 1976, pp. 121-122.

[6] The date of Domenichino's rendition of Rinaldo and Armida is still debated. Bellori mentions that the painting was commissioned by Ferdinand, Duke of Mantua. This is the only known work by Domenichino devoted to this subject, so it is more than likely that Bellori was referring to the painting which now hangs in the Louvre. Borea has suggested that the painting dates from around ca. 1616-17, whilst Spear has postulated that the work dates from around 1620-21, which seems plausible. The reasoning for supporting Spear is that the figural pose for Rinaldo shows similarities with Domenichino's preparatory studies of St. John the Evangelist in Sant' Andrea della Valle, which were possibly begun in 1620. Bellori, 1672, p.352-53, also see Spear, 1982, p. 221.

[7] Torquato Tasso, Jerusalem Liberated, (trans. Roberto Weiss), Centaur Press Ltd., 1962, p. 392. I have added the whole stanza in Italian when called for.

Stanza XX.

Tondo è il ricco edificio, nel più chiuso
grembo di lui, ch'è quasi centro al giro,
un giardin v'ha ch'adorno è sovra l'uso
di quanti più famosi uniqua fiorio.

D'intorno inosservabile e confuso
ordin di loggie i demon fabri ordin'ro,
e tra le oblique vie di quel fallace
ravolgimento impenetrabil giace.

[8] ibid, p. 398. Stanza XX.
Dal fianco de l'amante (estranio arnese)
un cristallo pendea lucido e netto.
Sorse, e quel fra le mani a lui sospese
a i misteri d'Amor ministro eletto.
Con luci ella ridenti, ei con accese,
mirano in vari oggetti un solo oggetto:
ella del vetro a sé fa specchio ed egli
gli occhi di lei sereni a sé fa spegli.
Also see Stanza XXII.

[9] ibid, p. 394, Stanza X.
Stimi (sì mistro il culto è co'l negletto)
sol naturali e gli ornamenti e i siti.
Di natura arte par, che per diletto
l'imitatrice sua cherzando imiti.

Tasso was possibly making a judgement on imitation. Armida has through her own artfulness, (weaving her hair), further cultivated and beautified her own natural looks. Tasso suggests that Armida is constructed from different idealised elements, thus poetry, like painting is able to draw upon the best and most beautiful parts or styles. Domenichino too, is imitating nature. Therefore the painting becomes frozen poetry.

[10] The two amorous putti reflect Armida's wooing of Rinaldo. The possible inference that the putti are a visual reflection of Rinaldo's desires and apprehensions is not unfounded. Rinaldo's weapon lies on the ground, he is disarmed literally and metaphorically by love. The imagery of the sleeping putto with the burning torch and the two amorous putti would certainly not have been lost on the viewer. The sleeping putto is probably a reference to love dormant, his torch the flame of desire welling inside. The two kissing putti are the carnal expression of the sleeping putto's desires. The putto with the bow and arrow is a direct reference to Cupid. The putto to Armida's right seems to be trying to untie the knots and strings of her gown, thus revealing her nakedness.

[11] Tasso believed that the historical theme was the most desirable, but emphasised the role of the poet as the best judge in portraying the reality of the scene at hand. The poet should consider things, not as they were but as they should have been: his concern should be for the universal truth. If the any of the events he has described, happened differently, then he was being more true to life or more wonderful (*mirabile*) and hence more pleasing, he should change those events, and not feel tied by the respect for truth or history. His stress on "*l'illustre*," "*il verisimile*" and "*il mirabale*," his insistence on the unity of action and his references to "*peripezia, agnizione*" and vividness shows that Tasso had Aristotle and Homer in mind. However, Tasso questioned the validity of classical models. He pointed out that they all presented a remote period of history, which had little baring on contemporary life. This applied particularly to religion, it being distasteful to the Christian to read of the false gods of the ancient world. Thus the poet should up-date the epic poem of the classical period, and reflect Christian values and "*le meraviglie*" or miracles of faith.

[12] See Chapter Five, foot note 10.

[13] Baglione mentions that Patrizi was a man of wealth even before his appointment as the treasurer to the papacy in 1615.

[14] After the death of Patrizi, the Palazzo was taken over by the Costagnuti family who still reside there to this day.

[15] The Palazzo Costaguti, Rome, personal archive of Comandante Francesco Costaguti.

[16] The date of the commission is still debated. Bellori and Passeri both mention the fresco was begun after The Last Rites of St. Jerome, putting it at around 1615. Bellori, 1672, p. 309-10, and Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 28. Baglione however placed the work in the period just after the fresco cycle in Sant' Andrea della Valle (completed in 1627), discussing the vault "with some pagan gods beautifully divided up." Baglione, 1642, p. 383. Baldinucci, like Bellori, suggested that the main body of the work was completed by Domenichino at the same time that Lanfranco and Guercino were working in the Palazzo Patrizi. which would place the

fresco cycle around the early 1620s. Baldinucci, 1681-1728, V, p. 248. Malvasia also discussed the work, giving an even earlier provenance and placed the work around the time that Bassano di Sutri was completing his frescoes in 1609. He mentions that the commission was secured by Albani, although this cannot be substantiated. Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, pp.223, 226. Modern scholars, too, have debated the possible date of the frescoes. Spear has pointed out that Serra, Voss, Pope-Hennessy and others have all accepted Passeri and Bellori's date as ca. 1615. Spear, 1982, p.233. Borea has to a greater degree tried to reconcile the stylistic differences and suggested a later date nearer to 1622, pointing out that Apollo and the chariot were painted first, and the lower figures some time later, by consequence of Domenichino's more robust style of figures in Guercino's Rinaldo and Armida on the ceiling of the same palace.

[17] Pope-Hennessy, 1948, inv. no. 1061, pp. 92-3.

[18] The fresco has been interpreted on many different levels. Fritz Saxl has pointed out in his article "Veritas filia Temporis" that Domenichino's rendition of the subject of Truth and Time, was one of the first to truly reflect Platonic ideals, and was not necessarily bound within the context of Christian morality or a didactic framework. Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernest Cassier, Oxford, 1936. Spear's analysis of the fresco is based on a study of the figures on "iconographical grounds by suggesting Domenichino wished to differentiate between two different kinds of symbols. . .the abstract qualities of Virtue, Beauty and Harmony, versus the narrative temporal scene of Apollo driving his chariot." Spear, 1982, p. 233.

[19] According to Democritus and Plutarch, Truth was sired from Saturn, who dragged her from the depths of the earth. The Sun (Apollo) is the offspring of Goodness, and its likeness in the visible world. "*Solem igitur vel Phoebum Musarum, id est intelligentiae, dulcem, una cum Platonicis atque Dioysio imaginem Dei conspicuam conclude*," as Marcilio Ficino says in his *Opera Basileae*, I, p. 971.

[20] See Chapter Four, p. 123.

[21] Aristotle, Politics, VIII, (trans. Benjamin Jowett), p.134.

[22] Vitruvius, The Ten Books of Architecture, (trans. Morris Hicky Morgan) Dover Press, 1960, p. 103. Vitruvius points out that the oracles of the Delphic Apollo sent thirteen colonies out of Asia Minor.

[23] Passeri, ed. 1934, pp. 42-43. Before it was delivered Cardinal Scipione Borgese, who much admired the painting, spirited it from Domenichino's studio under extreme protest from the artist. Passeri mentions that Cardinal Borgese was incensed by Domenichino's protestations and had him jailed for "insolence." Passeri's comment that Domenichino completed the painting in 1618 is questioned by Spear. He points to the fact that Domenichino went straight on to Bologna, after being set free from prison, in the summer of 1617 in readiness for his move to Fano, by which time Cardinal Borgese already had the painting in his hands. Spear, 1982, pp.192-194.

[24] Agucchi's praise of Domenichino's two paintings in the Borgese collection can be found in Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 223. Baglione, 1642, p. 383.

[25] Bellori, *Vita di Domenico Zampieri, Il Domenichino*, 1672, pp. 353-356.

[26] Ibid.

[27] ibid.

[28] Badt, "Domenichino's 'Caccia di Diana' in der Galleria Borghese." 1962, pp. 216ff.

[29] Aeneid, v, 485-515.

[30] "*historia di Lapis rosso della Baccanaria di Titiano fatto dal Domenichino una grande, e l'altra piccola no. 2.*"

[31] Bossinensis, trans. Disertori, II, no. 18, P. 58. ". . .*ci descrive la giornata di una solitaria ninfa cacciatrice, allo scopo di metterne in evidenza gli atteggiamenti ed i gesti, squisitamente pittorici e plastici, col piu integrale intento di puro edonismo. Ci sembra di assistere all'esecuzione di una serie di schizzi dal vero pei quali un grande artista idealizzatore facesse posare la modella in atti isolati a preparzione di un'ampia tela d'istorie arcadica e mitologica. E come se il poeta di tale frattola con ispirito divinatore avesse intravisto nel futuro in particolari staccati, quel capolavoro della "Caccia di Diana" che il suo concittadino Domenico Zampieri detto il Domenichino avrebbe attuato quasi un secolo piu tardi. Qui nella frattola del Demphon, la poesia dimonstra essere un succedaneo imperfetto della pittura, e la musica, non ecessivamente significativa, un veicolo inadeguato della poesia. Sarebbe perfino plausibile trarre de tale graduatoria, come da una perspicua allegoria, la conclusione che in quel momento della cultura italiana, fra le cariti sorelle abbriciate in gruppo armonioso, reffiguranti l'una l'arte sei suoni, l'altra della parola, la terza l'arte della bellezza visiva, quest'ultima si manifesta in evidenza delle tre la piu prefetta.*" Thanks go to Dr. Susan Weiss for introducing this material to me.

[32] New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vol. no 4, Kurt von Fisher, pp. 574-76.
[33] Bellori, 1672, p. 356. "*Scherzano nello stagno à nuoto due altre Ninfa; l'una clocandosi supina con le mani indietro, si fà letto nell acque, e giacendo scopre il petto, e'l resto del corpo alquando immerso in dolce riposo. L'altra stà in piediti e quasi alle poppe nell' acqua, addita il cantente vccello alla compagna. . .*."
[34] "*Deh levata la stringa dello pecto.*"
[35] Bellori's analysis, however, goes further than a purely descriptive account on the erotic nature of this painting. Bellori discusses the special ability of painting to represent beauty. The power of the image does not, however, bring about the destruction or dismemberment of the viewer (as it does Acteon who, gazing upon Diana, is transformed into a stag, and subsequently killed by his own dogs for glancing at her naked beauty). The pleasure of painting is the way that it is able to represent beauty or a representation of the *idea del bello.*
[36] Bellori, "*Mà vedi qui di vicino nell' estremo angolo del quadro in quel cespuglio, due giovini pastori, che ascosti e fertivi sporgono alquanto la testa da i rami, e dalle frondiluno di essi attende à riguardare con diletto le Ninfa ignudi dentro l'acque, l'altro col dito alla bocca, fà cenno e ci addita silentio; siche tacendo, con essi, anche noi adopriamo lo sguardo solo & ammiriamo l'image, celebrando l'artifice con eterne lodi*". 1672, p. 356.
[37] Elizabeth Cropper, "On Beautiful Women Parmiganino, Petrarchismo and the Vernacular Style" Art Bulletin, 1976, pp. 376-94.
[38] ibid, p. 374. "The particular perfections (in making) a beautiful woman."
[39] ibid, pp. 379-80.
[40] Ibid.
[41] The Ten Books of Architecture, (trans. Morris Hicky Morgan), Book IV, Chapter, I, p.104.
[42] Spear, 1982, p. 85. Bellori mentions Domenichino returned to Bologna in 1619-21 to study architecture just before his appointment by Gregory XV as papal architect. Also see, Bellori, 1672, p. 321.
[43] Passeri, ed. 1934, pp. 44, 67. My underlining.
[44] *L'Idea dell architettura universal*, Vicenzo Scamozzi, (trans. John Brown), 1693, p. 2.
[45] Bellori, 1672, p. 333.
[46] Spear, 1982, p. 91. The most important aspect of the first drawing (P-H 1735) is that Domenichino includes the measurement of 160 *palmi*, which relates exactly to the width of Maderno's church. The arms of Cardinal Peretti Montalto, the patron of Sant' Andea della Valle, are also included on the pediment. Montralto died on the 2nd of June 1623. This is confirmed in an anonymous notation in the *Erezione della Casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, p. 4r. It is also noted that the stone had been purchased for the facade, but that, due to the Cardinal's death the project was beset by financial difficulties. Three sheets of studies show eighteen different designs for the façade (P-H 1735-7). The studies show Domenichino's interest in Palladian motifs, using free standing columns, with statues *all' antica* style. The studies for Sant' Andrea della Valle echo those that Domenichino used for his later architectural drawings produced for the commission for Sant' Ignazio ca. 1625-6. Although Domenichino did not win the commission, the studies are important evidence of his keen assimilation of North Italian (Palladian and Lombardian), and ancient Roman architecture, in particular the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine as well as the Pantheon. Of the churches in Rome Domenichino knew well San Luigi in Francesi, Ottavio Maserino's San Salvatore in Lauro, as well as Santa Maria in Trastevere (for which Domenichino designed the coffered ceiling), along with many others. Thus he assimilated a large repertoire of architectural ideas and knowledge, which was never really exploited fully by any of his patrons.
[47] Bellori, 1672, pp. 349-50.

Chapter Seven

Domenichino's Commission for the Fresco Cycle in Sant' Andrea della Valle and the Position of the Four Pendentives in the *Quarantore* of 1625[1]

On the 2nd of August 1623, Fra Matteo Zaccolini returned to the community of San Silvestro al Quirinale, where he was domiciled after a three month visit to the brother community of Theatines at the basilica church of Sant' Andrea della Valle.[2] The visit coincided with the prestigious commission for the choir, pendentive crossings and stucco designs, recently won by Domenichino. The decoration of the choir and pendentives in Sant' Andrea della Valle represent some of the most accomplished of Domenichino's frescoes during his stay in Rome in the 1620s.[3] The scenes from the life of Saint Andrew; the six virtues; the decorative stucco work; and the four pendentives of the four evangelists constitute on of the most extensive fresco cycles in one of the largest Roman churches built after the Gesù. The importance of Zaccolini's visit cannot be overestimated. Zaccolini was in the final stages of completing his four discourses on colour and perspective as a working manual for artists.[4] One of the main aims of this chapter is to show how Domenichino's frescoes reveal important evidence of his contact with Zaccolini. Another aim is also to establish a new chronology as to when the pendentives were completed. This study will then lead into a re-evaluation on the role and function of the pendentives during the inaugural mass in Sant' Andrea della Valle in 1625.

Documentary Evidence for the Commission

Despite the importance of the commission, the circumstances and chronology of Domenichino's work remain unclear. In the absence of documentary evidence it is now believed that Domenichino received the commission following

his return to Rome from Bologna in 1621. Pressure appears to have been exerted on his behalf by the newly elected Pope Gregory XV, the former Bolognese Cardinal Ludovisi. Bellori[5] maintains that Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto[6] became the main sponsor of the Theatine church after the death of Cardinal Alfonzo Gesualdo, commissioning Domenichino to paint "not only the cupola and tribune but all the vaults of the church."[7] Passeri says that Giovanni Lanfranco won the whole project and that Montalto was persuaded by Domenichino's patron Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (the nephew of Pope Gregory XV), to give the work to Domenichino. Passeri considers that Montalto realised his "mistake" and "distributed the work in halves, giving the tribune and four pendentives to Domenichino and the cupola to Lanfranco."[8] Bellori, like Baldinucci, believed that Montalto had offered Domenichino "not only the cupola and tribune but all the vaults of the church."[9] Although no known designs survive from Domenichino, it is clear that he and Lanfranco vied for the whole commission.[10] The ensuing rivalry between the two artists was well known. Lanfranco's attempts to discredit Domenichino over The Last Rites of Saint Jerome as we have seen, are documented by Bellori, Malvasia and Passeri.[11] There can be no doubt that Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi supported Domenichino's cause. Lanfranco's efforts certainly did little to endear him to many of Domenichino's patrons and friends.

Although the documents for the commission have not yet come to light, it can assumed that Domenichino and Lanfranco were given very particular guide-lines as to what images were to be painted and in the form that the cycle was to take. Malvasia mentions that Agucchi assisted Domenichino with the iconographical program. This is borne out by the fact that Agucchi did not leave Rome for Venice until 1624.[12]

Domenichino's decoration for Sant' Andrea consisted of two main projects, the four pendentives under Lanfranco's dome; and the choir. The latter consisted of

five scenes from the life of St Andrew; six virtues; decorative figures and elaborate stucco work inspired by the Gesù and the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore. Domenichino's name appears in the *Spesa della fabrica della Chiesa di Sant' Andrea della Valle, 1589-1632* for the first time on the 22nd of September 1622 when 1.9 *scudi* were given to the artist, for payment of a wooden model of the choir. This was obviously done so that Domenichino could work out the precise dimensions of the choir and begin formulating his ideas for the fresco cycle. Bellori and Baldinucci believed the frescoes of the four evangelists were the first to be completed in readiness for the inaugural mass (which was part of the *Quarantore*), on the 23rd of March 1625.[13] This is supported by documentary evidence in the *Erezione della Casa di Sant' Andrea* and the *Spesa* (appendix, 6, pages 363-364), which reinforces Bellori and Baldinucci's view-point. An anonymous folio in the *Erezione* also gives reference to Domenichino's work which would suggest that he was working concurrently on the choir and the pendentives, although no specific dates are given. The documentary evidence however, does go some of the way to suggest that Domenichino probably began working on the stucco around the frescoes, in the choir during late 1622 or early 1623.

The first payments for wood for the scaffolding in the choir were made in late 1621, pointing to the fact that the ground had been laid on the surface of the choir, in anticipation for work to begin on the stucco. The first payment to Domenichino was made on the 16th of December 1622, referring to "Signor Domenico Zampieri, painter of the choir and Evangelists 500 *scudi*."[14] This would suggest that Domenichino had already begun working on the designs for the stucco in the choir and the pendentives as early as mid/late 1622. Probably in mid to late 1623 he then appears to have moved to the pendentives. This can be supported by the fact that the construction of the drum of the dome began in 1620 and that the dome proper, was not completed until June 1623.[15] In the *Erezione* of 1632 it

mentions that the lead on the dome had only just been laid and the brick work of the cornice was still incomplete (appendix 6, folio no. 4 recto, pages 363-364). This would suggest that Domenichino did not have direct access to the pendentives until mid 1623, at which time he probably started working on the stucco under the cupola.

Lanfranco however, did not receive his first payment until the 12th of August 1625, which suggests that he did not start work until after the inauguration in March 1625.[16] Evelina Borea pointed out in her study of Domenichino (1965), that she believed that Domenichino did not begin working on the pendentives until 1625.[17] The documentary evidence could suggest that Borea's hypothesis is incorrect. She suggested that Domenichino's pendentives were not only inspired by Correggio, but also by Lanfranco's fresco in the dome. Borea questioned to what degree the four pendentives can be seen to reflect Lanfranco's "Baroque" style. Her argument is that Domenichino was unable to construct a brilliantly conceived and executed fresco cycle, without reference to the ideas of Lanfranco. Domenichino's pendentives are in a very different mode from Lanfranco's fresco for the dome. The opposition of Domenichino's "classical-style" is heightened against Lanfranco's "Baroque-style" tightly packed, swirling, configuration of saints and angels. Borea's argument could equally be turned around. It has been pointed out that Lanfranco did not start working in the dome until July or August 1625, which would suggest that he may have turned to Domenichino's completed pendentives for inspiration. There seems to be a direct correlation between the male figure just above Saint John the Evangelist, which was ultimately derived from Correggio's frescoes in the Duomo and San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma. Lanfranco portrays the figure with his arms stretched out, looking heavenwards in the manner of Saint John the Evangelist. The shift of the pose is different in that Saint John is seen face on when standing in the choir. Domenichino's use of *affetti* and *invenzione* is certainly more restrained than Lanfranco's. The four evangelists exhibit a new vigour and exuberance, and are more

theatrically grand and expressive in pose and gesture. Domenichino and Lanfranco by taking inspiration from Correggio were trying to reflect certain aspects of his style. More importantly both artists chose to do so in very different ways.

There is no evidence as to Domenichino's activities during Zaccolini's presence in the early months of 1623. Zaccolini's guidance would undoubtedly have been sought by Domenichino in deciding upon the decoration of the concave choir, and possibly the pendentives. Domenichino may well have been watching the progress of the stucco work in the choir. The first payments for "*polvere di marmio*" or powdered marble, were made in May 1623, which would suggest that little of the stucco work was complete up until this date. If however, Domenichino was working in the choir in 1623, it is likely that he moved to the pendentives in the latter months of that year into March 1625. It can be assumed that the stucco work around the pendentives may have been completed by mid to late 1624 in anticipation of the inaugural mass.[18] A number of important payments are mentioned in the *Spesa*, made for stucco work and for the *tende* or protective curtains on the 5th of December 1624 in which a payment was made for "*A orazio fusoitto giponare per una tenda per il Evangelisti.*"[19] In the following February, Francesco Valerij received 43.5 *scudi* for the last payment of wood (probably for further scaffolding) for the pendentives "*per saldo di legnami per il Evangeliste*".[20] Again this evidence would support the hypothesis that the four pendentives may have been completed by March 1625.

The gilding probably started in early 1623. It must be remembered that like most other building projects payments for materials were invariably late.[21] The *Erezione* mentions that the gilding had begun before 3rd of July. Yet the first major entries "*per or per la cupola e coro*" are in November 1623. By the early months of 1625, there were numerous entries for the purchase of gold, after which only small amounts of money were paid. The gilders were paid large sums of money from June

1624 with more payments made towards the end of the year. There after, only minor instalments were made in the spring of 1625.[22]

Domenichino's involvement with the stucco work is confirmed by Passeri:

> Everything was settled and arranged according to Domenichino's scheme and design as regard the beautiful laid out gilding and stucco work.[23]

This is supported by further evidence of the pen and ink studies of the decorative scheme of the choir. The drawings show that Domenichino paid close attention the relationship between the decorative system and the frescoes for the choir (plate 80). From the drawings, one can see that the basic scheme was followed with only minor changes. Both Spear and Borea acknowledge that the impetus for the decorative motifs were derived from Santa Maria Maggiore. Domenichino borrowed the idea of using triangular frescoed panels within the pendentives. These were inset with stuccoed angelic figures standing below; stuccoed *ignudi* and shell motifs next to the windows, together with stuccoed angels in the rectangular insets on the arch-ways; acanthus-like motifs; scroll work and garlands of flowers. The decoration of the interior played an integral part in the overall construction of the church. Unlike the interiors of the Gesù or the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore, which are lower and darker, Sant' Andrea della Valle is architecturally larger, and lighter and airier. Domenichino used a white stuccoed ground, which was then gilded. Light from the windows in the choir and the lantern was used to full effect. The stucco literally oscillates with luminous radiance. Light plays an integral part upon the interior surface of the church, particularly in the manner and way Domenichino handles it in the frescoes.

The Forty Hour Devotional of 1625

There would no doubt have been pressure placed upon the workmen, to ensure that a project such as Sant' Andrea della Valle was completed for the

inauguration in the jubilee year of 1625. In support for the need for speed the *Spesa* indicates that the gilding at the bottom of the dome and the pendentives were complete by the end of March 1625. If Domenichino had, indeed finished the frescoes of the four evangelists, this would suggest that they may have been incorporated into the *apperati* or painted flats for the inaugural mass, part of a larger Forty Hour Devotional mass which began on the 23rd of March 1625. The main aim of this next section is to establish the basic construction of the Forty Hour Devotion in Sant' Andrea della Valle in 1625 and show how the pendentives were linked to the *apperati*. This will then lead into a discussion on the fresco cycle itself.

Mark Weil, in his article of The Devotion of the Forty Hours in Rome, makes the suggestion that the pendentives in many of the great churches played an integral part in the illusionistic *apparati* of painted flats and architectural settings of the set that "decorated the high altar in order to call to attention the glorifying of the sacrament."[24] The format of such masses usually included Vespers (in this case in Sant' Andrea becoming part of a larger *Messa Solemnis*) and a ceremony known as the *diposito*, in which the cross, the Host (or both) were carried in procession to an altar, or another place in the church that had been designated the sepulchre. The sepulchre was illuminated by candles and watched over by monks, or pious lay persons, who maintained a vigil for forty hours. At the end of this period, the Host and/or the cross were removed and replaced on the high altar, signifying the resurrection of Christ.

The Forty Hour Devotional mass was a major liturgical event. It may be considered theatrical as it including colourful processions of religious companies, the preaching of special sermons and the singing of hymns and litanies. As one of the most important and prominent composers in Rome, Frescobaldi was involved in collecting and collating a large repertoire of mass settings by the leading musicians of the day for the dedication. These volumes were also intended for use in the other

major basilicas in Rome for the jubilee year of 1625. The five folios, which have never been re-published, were dedicated to Cardinal Carlo Madruzzo. The ensuing dedication was written by the composer Francesco Sammaruco (appendix, 5, folios no. 1 recto, 2 recto, pages 359-360). The instrumental and vocal forces called upon would have been extensive, although the manuscripts do not give a clear indication of the instrumental forces required. It is known however, from the *Tavola* that there were at least three, if not four, portable organs, since the present organ was not installed in Sant' Andrea della Valle until 1664.[25] It is evident from the manuscripts that the choral forces employed were large. The *Tavola* in the manuscripts gives a break-down of the solo and choral forces required. The composer of *Virgo Gloriosa* Valiero Guami, required four tenors. The *Preperate* by Paolo Agostino involved four trebles, a bass soloist and accompaniment with lute and violin. From this it is possible to glean that the choral forces were upwards of sixteen persons, probably four trebles, four sopranos/castrati, four tenors and four baritone/ basses. It is documented (below) that the Pope attended the Forty Hour Devotional mass in Sant' Andrea della Valle in 1625. Fredrick Hammond mentions that the Sistine chapel choir usually accompanied the Pope on his journeys around Rome. Therefore, it is conceivable that the Sistine Chapel choir sang during the Devotion.[26]

Since the major theme of the Devotional mass was based on the dedication of the high altar, and to a degree with the Annunciation of the Virgin, the music would have reflected these themes. It is evident from the vocal scores, that these pieces were specifically for the litany of the Blessed Virgin. The liturgical repertory for the performance of high mass was comprised of the ordinary texts: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei and Dona nobis pacem. The motet settings or substitute pieces for the mass proper would usually have included the Introit, Tract, Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence, Offertory, Elevation and Communion. The liturgy of vespers required settings of a limited repertory of psalms, the Magnificat

canticle and four antiphons to the Blessed Virgin and three basic chant settings. These were sung interspersed between the organ voluntaries.

The *Erezione* contains other references to devotional-type events taking place. The text states that Pope Gregory XV took part in a service for the dedication of a reliquary of St Sebastian on the 22nd of November 1622 and a further service on the 24th of March 1623 to coincide with the Annunciation of the Virgin. On the 24th of March 1624 a mass was sung "*in honore Virgo assum. . .in hac nra* [sic] *Cecilia*" and on August the 5th of that year the first Forty Hour Devotion was held in the presence of the Pope.[27] Urban VIII was also in attendance on the 30th of November for the celebration of St Andrews Day ". . .And many people came (frequented): fifteen Cardinals amongst them. . .,"[28] Fra. Thomas Aquinas officiating at the service (appendix, 5, folios no. 2 recto and 3 recto, p. 361). The 23rd of March 1625 was chosen as the date to begin the second recorded Forty Hour Devotion in Sant' Andrea della Valle, combining a number of major and holy dates in the Christian calendar, thus laying greater emphasis on the dedication of the church. It was also one of the most "holy" weeks in the Roman Catholic diary.

> On the 23rd of March 1625, on Palm Sunday, the title of our church (Sant Andrea della Valle) was opened, and a solemn mass celebrated, with an exposition of prayers for the forty hours by the placing of the high altar. The celebrant Thomas Aquinas officiated. Up to the holy day, which coincided with the Annunciation of the Virgin, on which day the pope, Urban VIII and seven cardinals in attendance entered the basilica (appendix 5, folio 3 recto, page, 362).[29]

The construction of such elaborate ceremony for the Forty Hour Devotion mass demanded great decorative *apparati*, a temporary set which decorated the high altar. Since the altar itself was the central focus of the inaugural mass of the church, its significance would have been magnified and the church seen as complete and functional.

The complex architectural setting of the *apparati* usually showed scenes of contemporary, historical and Biblical salvation. They were used to illustrate the saving power of the Sacrament, which normally appeared in heaven surrounded by a glorious host of angel choirs and saints. The subject matter of the *apparati* for the Quarantore in Sant' Andrea della Valle undoubtedly reflected the theme of Annunciation of the Virgin which is supported by the documentary evidence.

The *apparati* were composed of painted flats arranged to give the illusion of a greater space than that which actually existed. The *apparati* differed from stage sets in that they were complete in themselves, rather than serving as backdrops for the dramatic action. Usually all the figures, as well as the illusionistic settings were painted in *chiaroscuro* on flats and flat silhouettes. These were arranged to form a single scene. These sets were illuminated by thousands of candles and oil lamps, placed behind the flats so that neither the lamps nor the workmen who tended them could be seen by the viewer. The further the flat from the front of the altar, the more brightly it was lit. The Eucharist was usually placed at the deepest point of the altar where it was bathed in light from all the hidden lamps and symbolically expressed the source of illumination for the entire scene. It is unfortunate that no drawing or designs have as yet come to light for the *Quarantore* in Sant' Andrea della Valle. It is not even known who did the designs. It would be tantalising to suggest that Domenichino was involved. It may however, be useful to look at Pietro da Cortona's design for the 1633 *Quarantore* in San Lorenzo e Damaso, as this gives some idea of the possible overall effect (plate 81). The pendentives would naturally have become incorporated into and have been seen as an extension of the altar setting.

The choir in Sant' Andrea della Valle is fairly shallow, but the illusionistic effects of the architecture suggest that it is much deeper than it really is. Thus the pendentives may have been linked to the painted flats, which were graduated in size as they extended into the choir area. Without visual evidence it is difficult to

ascertain how the pendentives were tied into the iconographical imagery of the *apparati*, or even what was depicted on the flats.

Zaccolini may have aided Domenichino in the designs for the pendentives. Zaccolini was acknowledged as the foremost theorist on perspective in his day as attested by Domenichino, Poussin and Cassiano del Pozzo. The latter of which had a copy of the four treatises made.[30] Whether Zaccolini assisted Domenichino in designing the pendentives, with the specific aim that they could be used as an extension of the *apparati* is unclear. It is likely that the *apparati* were attached to the lower bottom of the pendentives, around the area of the cloud formations. This would have given the designer ample opportunity to use the painted clouds of the fresco and incorporate them into the set. This would add further weight to the argument that the *apparati* were attached to the pendentives. The four Evangelists are seen sitting upon a huge mass of swirling clouds, thus emphasising their position as the viewer's eyes were drawn heavenwards. Domenichino extends the cloud formation onto the stuccoed area of the pendentive in both St. Luke and St. John the Evangelist. This might well suggest that he designed the pendentives with the very purpose of an overlap, so that the *apperati* could be attached at this point, thus creating a continuous cloud formation, extending back into the choir.

Domenichino's Inspiration for the Pendentives

It has long been recognised that Correggio's frescoes for the domes and pendentives in the Duomo and San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma were the main source for such illusionistic developments. Domenichino's four evangelists are set within the architectural mouldings.[31] Domenichino creates the illusion that each of the evangelists extends in front of the structural forms. He creates this effect by placing each of the evangelists within a fictive architectural setting. Each of the figures seems to float in front of the architecture, supported by angels and putti, who

cast shadows on the fictive space. The figures appear to project into the nave. This is reminiscent of Annibale Carracci's *Ignudi* in the Farnese Palace frescoes. The boldly modelled, deeply pleated fabrics envelop each of the figures and can be paralleled more with ancient and Renaissance sculpture, than with the figurative painting of Domenichino's own period. Comparisons can be drawn with Bernini's sculpture and his use of *affetti*, dramatic action and movement. Bellori stated that the figure of St John the Evangelist, (plate 82) was the most beautiful of the pendentives. Stendhal, for instance, thought that not even Raphael had achieved such a level of inspired rapture, and placed Domenichino in the same grouping with the greatest of the Renaissance artists.[32] This suggests that Domenichino's frescoes were greatly admired by many of artists and critics of later generations, not only for there virtuosity in imitating Raphaels's style, but more importantly, Domenichino had surpassed many of the great Renaissance artists in terms of his use of *affetti* and *invenzione*, as well as *colore* and *disegno*.

The drawings for the pendentive of Saint John the Evangelist are the most extensive and accomplished.[33] As they are so superior, it is likely that they were shown to the commissioning authorities, as examples of Domenichino's proposals for the fresco cycle. They show remarkable detail and were probably the first of the studies done. Domenichino probably did a number of the preparatory works in the Vatican. This can be supported by pictorial evidence. As we have already seen, the idealisation of Saint John stems from an ancient Greco-Roman portrait of Alexander the Great, with his head turned heavenwards (plate 83). Although, Bellori does not specify the source of the figure, the model upon which it is based can be identified with a colossal head of the Dying Alexander which was then in the Vatican. There are also links with other pieces of sculpture: the Dioscuri for the figural pose and also the Belvedere Apollo. The fictive angel may be related to the standing figure of

Juno in the Villa Medici in Rome. These images would have been discernible and recognisable as being derived from classical sculpture.

The early sketches for Saint Matthew take reference from the Belvedere torso and also Michelangelo's sculptures of Lorenzo Medici in Florence or Moses in Rome, since they rely on the same figural pose. The early studies show the spatial problems that Domenichino experienced, reflecting the change in the figural pose of the Saint. Domenichino vigorously over-worked a number of the drawings, in particular the final work, which has been squared up.

As Saint Matthew (plate 84) and Saint John the Evangelist face the entrance of the church, they may well have been the first frescoes to have been completed. This would make sense if Domenichino was trying to complete the pendentives for the *Quarantore* of 1625.

Domenichino's inspiration for St Mark (plate 85) may well have been the figures of Isaiah and Jeremiah from the Sistine Chapel. It is also clear that he borrows the figural pose from the pendentives in San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma. The drawings for Saint Mark are not as extensive as for the other pendentives.[34] It may well be that Domenichino finished this fresco last, as the drawings are extremely rushed and do not show the same technical polish. His assistants clearly had a hand in completing a number of the drawings for the whole commission, since some of the drawings of Saint Mark are crude in their handling.[35] One of the large drawings of the angel in the left hand of this pendentive, shows the nature of the problems that Domenichino faced when reproducing his drawings upon the wall surface.[36] The left leg of the angel is raised to accommodate him into the frame of the pendentive. He is placed further back into the fictive space, thus emphasising Saint Mark as sitting in front of the pendentive and accentuating the sculptural-like style of the painting.

The drawings of Saint Luke[37] (plate 86) like those of Saint Mark are not as refined as those for the Saints John and Matthew. The figural pose of the saint is derived from the Michealangelo's Cumean Sibyl in the Sistine Chapel. The work was one of the last to be completed, since Domenichino may well have been running out of time to finish the pendentive in readiness for the *Quarantore*.

In all the preparatory drawings Domenichino started off the poses in the nude and then worked the drapery over the figures. Evidently he then worked on the other figures and finally brought the whole work together in a final and much reduced squared drawing.

The Life of St. Andrew: The Choir Frescoes

The aim of this next section is to look at the commission for the choir, before going into an in-depth study of Zaccolini's manuscripts and what Domenichino may have assimilated from them. The five frescoes of the choir represent one of the most complex arrangements within the period. The projection of the histories of the life of Saint Andrew onto a concave vault was a complicated task. The scenes had to be cropped to fit irregular shaped spaces, which complicated the normal method of squaring for transfer. Bellori appreciated the technical difficulties that beset Domenichino, particularly the boat man in The Calling of Saints Andrew and Peter:

> Here one must admire the power of the perspective of the nude figure of the boatman heaving up a foot on the edge of the boat and with the other leg suspended in foreshortening, pushing the oar. . .and because it was painted on the greatest part of the concavity of the wall, it appears as a plane detached from the surface; and the oar defying the concavity, comes forward with stupendous effect.[38]

Domenichino drew upon Raphael's Battle of Ostia and Ludovico Carracci's figure of the boy oarsman in The Preaching of Saint John the Baptist. The oarsman figure was regularly used, in particular by Annibale in his landscapes. There is no precedence for this kind of perspectival expertise in Domenichino's earlier works. Indeed, he tended to avoid foreshortening like the Carracci, preferring to show profiles or frontal views and planar compositions. The figure of Christ may well be derived from the Sistine Chapel and Carravaggio's Summoning of Christ in the Contarelli Chapel; the figures of The Calling of Saints Andrew and Peter being derived from Annibale's or Tintoretto's work of the same titles.

The figure of the standing saint may well also find its precedence in one of Domenichino's earlier works of The Martyrdom of Saint Peter Martyr. He uses the same figural pose, although with a few minor changes. We see the saint jumping forward in surprise, his arms open. The drawings show the progressional development of the figures of the boatman and Saints Andrew and Peter. Domenichino readily worked on the figures, particularly the boatman and the two saints. One sees the evolution of the figure of the boatman who starts in a kneeling position, may have been drawn directly from a model due to the extraordinary contrapposto pose. This would suggest that Domenichino was aware of the need to project the figures and the boat in a manner so as to ensure that they would look as though they were coming from the diagonal, thus creating a greater sense of spatial illusion and depth. The light source which is directed from the viewer's left is angled at the opposite diagonal giving us a strong visual sense of depth. He cleverly uses the lip of the bottom of the stucco to suggest this by casting a shadow upon the bow of the boat and the leg of the saint, thus giving the impression that we are looking through a window. Domenichino directs the oar under the lip of the cornice, catching the very moment that the boat-man is about to draw it from the water and thus heightening the contrapposto movement and implying that the oar is almost caught

by the lip itself. While the figures are set at the most convex of angles within the choir, he also thrusts the figure of the boat-man back into the picture plane with the weight of the oar supporting his own body. The perspectival effects are best seen from the centre of the church under the dome, but the fresco works equally as well from the door way at the front of the church (plate 87).

Domenichino and Zaccolini. The Manuscripts: Further Evidence

There is no doubt that Zaccolini contributed to the perspectival and mathematical development of the decoration and frescoes. All the evidence points to Zaccolini being expressly brought to Rome to assist Domenichino. Zaccolini's contribution to the study of perspective and shadow projection has yet to be fully analysed and appreciated. Elizabeth Cropper[39], Janice Bell[40] and Martin Kemp[41] have begun the long process of evaluating his contribution to the field of colour, perspective and shadows. The aim here is to look at the last of the four treatises, the *Prospettiva lineale della discrittione dell ombre prodotte di corpi opachi rettilini*. Much of the manuscript is badly damaged due to the bleeding which has hampered translation, but the linear drawings give a fair indication of what is being communicated in the illegible text.

There can be no doubt that Domenichino learnt much from Zaccolini during his visit to Sant' Andrea della Valle. In the *Prospettiva lineale* there is a chapter which deals with the problem of curved spaces (for example, like the apse of the choir in Sant' Andrea della Valle), in particular "for those who do not have great experience in perspective."[42] In The Baptist Revealing Christ to Saints Andrew and Peter (plate 88), Domenichino was unhindered by the problems which he faced in The Calling of Saints Peter and Andrew (plate 89). This work lies at the top of the choir at the centre and is painted on the gently curved drum of the apse. The fresco

works best from a perspectival point of view when one is standing in the choir itself. Domenichino does not use a complex perspectival setting. The figures lie at the front of the picture plane, apart from Christ who stands in the middle distance. The shadows are cut short, which would suggest the light source comes from the viewer's left and the setting is not far off mid-day.

What is clear is that Domenichino for the first time in this cycle altered his manner of painting, following Zaccolini's theory about casting shadows. As Zaccolini states in the introduction:

> . . .I wish to speak on the diverse accidents of shadows and the reasons for solid bodies---and heavenly light---and the new and novel principles of perspective going through the operations so beautiful for some [the next two words are impossible to decipher from the text due to bleeding] so for good examples what [again the text is difficult to decipher] here in this treatise.[43]

In Chapter Four it was suggested that Zaccolini drew much of theory about painting shadows from Leonardo, and in particular his views on "derivative shadows." Leonardo writes:

> The derivative shadow will be darkest which is nearest the source, and those which are remote will be lighter. That shadow is sharpest and clearest which is nearest to its origin, and least sharp is the most remote. A shadow looks more dense towards its edges than towards its centre.[44]

In The Flagellation of Saint Andrew (plate 90), the executioner in the right hand foreground, casts a shadow onto the horizontal plane of the step and also onto the sprawling figure on the left who has fallen over as a result of the breaking of the rope.[45] The shadow of the fallen figure becomes noticeably lighter around the knee area but grows darker towards the thigh and foot, which are closer to the ground. A comparison with Domenichino's The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, shows that the shadows in this painting are frozen, with little actual modulation from dark to light.

The second part of Zaccolini's opening chapter begins with "*Della discrittione dell' ombre produtte da corpi opachi rettilinei sopra la superfiere prima*" (appendix 7, folio 3 verso, page 367).[46] Here Zaccolini draws a single cube, which is viewed from above. "B" signifies the light source. "A" is the point of perspective, since the image is also seen from a horizontal view point. The shadow is also projected in the direction of the perspectival point. Throughout the treatise Zaccolini introduces different methods of producing shadows on horizontal and vertical as well as rectilinear, concave and convex surfaces. In several of the drawings, geometric solids of different shapes are suspended from the ground at different levels (for example in folio 9 verso, appendix 7, page 368). In many of the illustrations objects of various sizes and shapes are used together to show how to project shadows upon different surfaces (appendix 7, folio 47 recto, page 369). The shadows are drawn showing the gradation and modulation of the shadow from its darkest point through to the lightest.

In the *Discrittione del ombra apparenta nel direcndere sopra la superficie concavina, essendo prodotta da lati del corpo opaco rettilineo inclinato al sotto pollo piano orizontale*, "A" is the point of the light source, "B" the foot of the "candle". "C" is the top of the left hand corner of the cube and "R" the right. "Q" is the top corner of the horizontal plane, at which point the shadow hits before it moves down to the left hand corner of the projected shadow on the curved surface. "E" is the bottom right hand corner of the shadow (appendix 7, folio 49 recto and verso, pages 369-370). Zaccolini discusses the different ways that shadows are cast using multiple light sources (appendix 7, folio 65 recto, page 371). He shows numerous examples and variations of single and divided shadows, for example an object suspended above the ground (appendix 7, folio 80 recto, page 372). Here he describes how the nearer an object is to the ground, the larger the shadow in relation to the size, shape and stronger in intensity of darkness. Thus the light source which

is further away from the object will be less strong. He also describes the nature of the light source. If weak, the shadow loses its intensity. However, if the light is strong the shadow becomes more defined. Zaccolini probably drew his inspiration from Leonardo, who suggested in his *Trattato della Pittura* that:

> Derivative shadows are of three kinds; that is its size on the wall where it strikes will be either larger than its base, or smaller than the base, or equal to it. If it is larger, that is a sign that the light which illuminates the (opaque) object is smaller than the body. If it is smaller, the light is larger than the object; and if it is equal, the light is equal to the object in size.[47]

Zaccolini may well have advised Domenichino on the use of the natural light and to exploit it to his advantage. In Sant' Andrea della Valle there are five large windows in the choir. The main source of sunlight comes from the left hand side (during the summer months) if one is looking into the apse. Domenichino was well aware that he could exploit this natural source of light to full effect.

In The Flagellation of Saint Andrew the point of perspective is drawn at the very top of the flagellating figure's whip and the corner of the female statue. The fresco relies on a juxtaposition of planes both architecturally and in the use of light and shadow. The shadow of the left hand building (the pediment can be seen to end at the top of the fresco) casts a shadow upon the pillar (and the pilaster) opposite. Zaccolini devotes a number of chapters to cylindrical forms and the casting of shadows around such forms. By looking at folio 47, recto, it can be seen that the light falls directly on the cylinder and is modulated from light to dark as it moves around, as is the shadow on the pillar in The Flagellation of St. Andrew. Zaccolini also discusses how shadows become more defined by the strength of the light source. If there is more than one light source, shadows will become divided. If one light source is nearer to an object which is illuminated by two light sources, the shadow of

the object created will appear stronger from the nearer light source than the shadow of the object created from the second and more distant light.

In Saint Andrew Adoring the Cross (plate 91), Domenichino puts Zaccolini's ideas on the reflection of light into practice. It can be seen by looking at the face of the child on the left that the shadow from his mother's gown would envelop the child's face. However, Domenichino reflects the light from the ground and her garment illuminating his face from below. This may well have come from Leonardo and his own observations on the casting of shadows.[48] Again, Zaccolini probably aided Domenichino with the perspectival setting and shadow projections. The left hand wall recedes at a 90 degree angle into the picture plane, the point of perspective being drawn to the gesticulating hand of the foot soldier, who is pulling at St. Andrew. The shadows both of the figures and walls are cast to the right, suggesting that Domenichino was using the natural light directed from the window on the lower left hand side in the choir.

The knowledge that Domenichino gained from Zaccolini caused a change in his use of *chiaroscuro* in other areas of his work. Shadows are no longer used to create relief in the painting but are used to fill in all the space blocked from the light. For the first time shadow becomes a space-creating element. Domenichino uses a grey wash for the shadows. He then adds small dots and cross-hatching in black for those areas of greatest darkness. This is particularly clear when one looks at the *Ignudi* and *Putti* above the windows in Sant' Andrea della Valle (plate 92). The *putti* are cast in shadow. Domenichino sets them in a fictive niche, which is projected behind the top of the cornice of the window. The two *ignudi* are sitting on the edge of the pediment. This gives the impression that it and the figures jut into the choir. Domenichino uses the natural light from the window to full effect and casts a shadow upon the *putti*. The sleeping *putto* on the right hand side of the choir is cast completely in shadow. The other *putti* are less in shadow, as there is more light

reflected on them. The two *ignudi* are bathed in light, which is cast from the window beneath them. Their shadows are again cast upwards. The shadow from the left hand *ignudi* is cast onto the moulded frame, thus emphasising his position outside the frame. Domenichino's frescoes reveal a new awareness of harmonising colours and *chiaroscuro*. There is a greater sense of naturalism. For the first time it can be seen that Domenichino was trying reflect the effects of oscillating, mobile light. It is though at any moment the light and shadows will shift. As the viewer moves into the choir, the shadows seem to change. This is particularly clear when looking at the *ignudi*. As the viewer walks around so the eye is deceived into believing that the shadows may move. This is one of the most important developments in Domenichino's art.

The Four Evangelists: Symbols and Colour

Like the *ignudi*, the six female Virtues play an important, if subsidiary, role in the fresco cycle. Each figure characterises certain aspects of the Christian faith. Whilst they do not serve to illustrate Domenichino's technique any further, they need to be acknowledged as an integral part of the thematic scheme of the whole fresco cycle. Like the four Evangelists, they reflect different emotional states.[49] The Evangelists are portrayed with their attributed symbols and seem to reflect the opening passages of their own Gospels. Walking into the church one sees Saint Matthew musing upon a text.[50] Behind him an angel holds a cross and a cradle. Bellori states that the cradle may refer to Christ's birth, as well as our own, and the cross therefore refers to death and resurrection. Saint John the Evangelist who is again seen directly upon entering the church, looks heavenwards. The viewer is asked to contemplate the Assumption of the Virgin and Christ, as well as the viewer's own salvation in heaven.[51] St. John gesticulates towards the book which he is to write. The "Word of God" is yet to be revealed, as the pages are empty. St. John

is seen with quill in hand. The end of the quill has been dipped in the ink ready to write, thus the word has been revealed to him, "in the beginning was the word and the word was with God."[52]

St. Mark is in some respects the odd one out and the most unusual of the four pendentives due to his novel posture.[53] Domenichino may have used a literal translation of the second verse of the Gospel, "*ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui praeparabit viam tuam*,"[54] although in the Gospel the angel, was in fact John the Baptist. The angel on the viewer's left is possibly drawn from Correggio's fresco in San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma or from Lanfranco's Christ in Glory in the Sacchetti chapel in San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome. By introducing the figure of the angel, Domenichino may well have been making a direct reference to Lanfranco's claims that Domenichino had plagiarised Agostino's work. The introduction of this figure makes reference to Lanfranco's borrowing of the figural pose from Correggio's fresco in the cupola in the Duomo in Parma. St. Mark's Gospel is not usually associated with the resurrection, which is symbolised by the large banner held by the angel. Mâle has postulated most plausibly that Agucchi may well have suggested the addition of the lion, whose gaze toward the banner reinforces the Resurrection and of Christ.[55]

St. Luke looks directly at the viewer. In his hand is a scroll which is being unravelled by an angel. The text, "*Fuit sacerdos*," is probably a reference to Zacharias. The opening text of St. Luke begins with a list of the chain of Old Testament Levite Priests, from Aaron onwards. Domenichino has included the holy breast plate and mitre. These are direct references to the biblical text.[56] The image of the Virgin and Child supported by the two angels, was of great importance and appropriateness to Domenichino. One angel holds a bunch of paint filled brushes and a palette, whilst a second holds an icon of the Virgin and child. The icon was well known and venerated in Bologna as being the original painting by St. Luke himself.

Domenichino's inclusion of this image would have further supported the iconic clarity and Biblical message. Here again the rhetorical message is one of the revelation of the "Word of God". The rhetorical discourse between the image and text is being played out. The congregation attending mass would therefore hear the "Word of God," and see it manifest in the frescoes, and in the gilded lettering around the bottom of the dome and the four capitals below the pendentives.

Domenichino's contact with Zaccolini also changed in his use of colour. New evidence has come to light during the restoration of the frescoes that Domenichino was using oil and tempera based paints for the *secco* fresco. In an academic discussion with Elizabeth Cropper, she mentioned that this system was commonly used in the Renaissance, but modern restorers knew little or nothing about it.[57] The technique seems to have gone out of fashion in the late 17th century. It was only with the restoration of the frescoes in Sant' Andrea della Valle that the conservators realised that this system of oil based *secco* fresco existed. Fortunately Domenichino's frescoes in Sant' Andrea della Valle have been saved from the ravages of over-zealous restoration, and in time more information may become available concerning this technique.[58]

Domenichino uses strong and vibrant colours; nearly all of the figures are clothed in primary and secondary hues. This is evident in the figures of Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Luke. Domenichino adopted Zaccolini's system of using complimentary colours. Saint John the Evangelist's cloak and robe are painted in green and red. Saint Luke's in blue and yellow. Saint Matthew's robes are yellow and grey and those of Saint Mark are purple and green.

The colours of the robes resonate against each other, producing *cangiantismo*-like effects. Primary hues are balanced against each other. Each hue is restrained by its opposite colour. For example the swirling drapery of Saint John the Evangelist's robe and mantle is accentuated by the use of red and green.

Did Domenichino consciously work out a narrative system of colours for the four Evangelists? It is very likely that Domenichino used a very calculated play of colouristic oppositions and contrasts. His colour palette was based on a mid to high-value range. This analysis will begin by looking at St. John. Red is a pure hue, but green (a mixture of Naples yellow and ultramarine) is derived from the combination of hues found in the robes of Saint Luke. The robes of Saint Mark are green and purple, so it is possible that the combination of red from Saint John, coupled with the blue from Saint Luke, using proportionally balanced hues of the same value, would make purple. The green hue is directly related to the same hue found in Saint John's robes. The hues are balanced on the diagonal. The robes of Saint Matthew are yellow and grey; this combination can be found in the robes of Saint Luke, who is on the opposite diagonal to him. Thus primary and secondary hues of the same value are balanced not only in a sequential order but diagonally. In Chapter Four it was suggested when looking at St. Luke's palette, Domenichino was responding to Zaccolini's tonal-value scales. Domenichino was putting into practice Zaccolini's theoretical principles of balancing hues which could be related to different musical chords.[59]

This is evident when looking at the robes of Saint Luke. It can be seen that Domenichino added yellow into the shadows. The reflecting sun-light bathes the blue robe with white light, which in turn is reflected into the areas of shadow as a blue white light. Again this creates *cangiantismo*-like effects. The yellow of St Luke's tunic is reflected onto the back of his robe which becomes luminous. Light and shadows are used to punctuate the fresco. The modelling of the fabrics is aided by the technique of juxtaposing bright highlights against the lowlights. This is evident when looking at the lower knee area where the blue robe is almost bleached by the sun light. By contrast where the cloth falls into shadow the pure hue of blue is seen. As the cloth hem hangs over the knee the shadows are mixed with the same

bleached hue of blue and a yellow tinge has been added to keep the white/blue of the highlighted area from shifting too far forward. The contrasts of the yellow and blue robes oscillates and the light seems to move over the surface of the drapery. It is this use of *luminare*, and the effects of mobile light that Domenichino finally resolved here in these frescoes. As the viewer moves from the main entrance of the church, the effects of the colours become more noticeable and can be equated to a musical resonance.

Long before this period composers had known that they could manipulate the acoustic and spacial qualities in churches to create varied musical effects. Singers could be placed in different parts of the building, either singing in unison or interjecting at specific moments, creating monodic, polyphonic and stereophonic sounds. At the end of the cadence, the music would naturally reverberate through out the church. Domenichino understood that certain colour combinations could effectively act in the same manner as musical chords, which was originally suggested by Zaccolini in *De colori*. In this manuscript Zaccolini argued that yellow and white as well as green and red could be equated to the most powerful musical chords or modes (a point that was discussed in Chapter Four). The effect of certain colour combinations would, therefore, evoke a certain mood in the viewer. *Chiaroscuro* can be said to act in the same manner as half tones or flats and sharps. Like the composer, Domenichino was using certain colour combinations to create the same effects. Sant' Andrea della Valle is Domenichino's earliest example of sound-colour reverberation.

Lanfranco despite understanding this would have painted to a different set of rules, based on "Baroque" principles. Lanfranco's Assumption of the Virgin (plate 93) by comparison to Domenichino's pendentives is a polyphonic chorus of interwoven saints and angels, colour and *chiaroscuro*. The figural and colouristic effects can be seen to match those found in polyphonic music, in which multiple

chords are sequentially ordered in a harmonic fashion. He adopts a mid to high-value range of colours. Lanfranco was well aware of the need to create a greater depth of *chiaroscuro*, and contrasts of hue and tone, so that the detail is visible to the viewer 60 meters below. At the bottom of the dome the figures and clouds are cast in *chiaroscuro*; as the dome rises to the apex the light from the lantern floods the top of the fresco. Here Lanfranco modulates the colours from orange through to yellow. Thus the swirling mass of figures and clouds produces a different colouristic resonance. Lanfranco juxtaposes his colours. Pinks and blues, reds and purples, all of the same intensity of hue and tone, are placed next to each other.

Domenichino's pendentives on the other hand are pared down, both in the use of colour and *chiaroscuro*. Domenichino keys his colours together by using a mid-value scale of hues and tones, which are harmoniously balanced with and against each other. This is different to Lanfranco who uses unusual contrasts of colour and *chiaroscuro*. Another difference between Domenichino and Lanfranco is in their use of *affetti*. In particular their use of gesture and facial expressions to convey very different emotional responses. The battle being fought between Lanfranco and Domenichino, suggests that there was a fundamental dispute over the differences in artistic styles. This challenge was based on Domenichino's "Classical" style as opposed to Lanfranco's more elaborate "Oratorical" style, exemplified by Pietro da Cortona's The Triumph of Divine Providence in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome and Guercino's Aurora in the Casino Ludovisi in Rome.

It has been shown in this chapter that Domenichino's frescoes and, in particular, the pendentives played an important role and function within the church. The four evangelists played a vital and integral part during the *Quarantore*. Not only were they used as an extension of the *apparati*, but aided the viewer in contemplating upon different aspects of the mass itself. Domenichino's Evangelists, and in particular Saint John, focus the viewer's gaze upon the Assumption of the

Virgin and Christ. The viewer is moved not only by the images, but by the written, spoken and sung word during the mass. The musical settings for the mass would have added to the religious experience of the congregation, and the ceremony was reinforced by incense, elaborate robes and vestments of the celebrants, and *apparatus* which was constructed for the *Quarantore*.

Colour harmonisation, like music, relies on a systematic understanding of balancing hues and tones of the same value. In the same way the composer uses a specific mode or key to define the mood of the piece of music. Domenichino's pendentives and frescoes in the choir reflect the theoretical principles of colour harmonisation laid down by Zaccolini. Each of Domenichino's pendentives conveys a different mode. Domenichino is reflecting a very calculated play of colouristic and harmonic oppositions, which ultimately take on synaesthetic or sound-like qualities. Domenichino was an heir to a tradition, in which colour and music were directly related. This was to be continued by his student Poussin.

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[1] This chapter was published in an edited version in *Regnum Dei*, in Rome in 1994. New evidence has come to light since its publication and any changes have been noted.
[2] This is confirmed by a brief note in the *Erezione della casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, p. 27.
[3] Howard Hibbard "Early History of Sant' Andrea della Valle" Art Bulletin, XLIII, 1961, pp. 289-318.
[4] The four manuscripts, which are believed to be copies after the original, were rediscovered in 1973 by Carlo Pedretti, catalogued as MS Ashb. 1212. 1-4, now held in the Bibiloteca Medica Laurenziana, in Florence. Also see Bell "Cassiano dal Pozzo's copy of the Zaccolini Manuscripts," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 51, 1988, pp. 103-125. All of the manuscripts have suffered from bleeding, in particular the last *Prospettiva lineale della discrittione del ombre prodotte di corpi opachi rettilini*, in which some pages have become so badly damaged it is difficult to make any sense of the text or the images.
[5] Bellori, 1672, p. 322.
[6] Montralto died on 3rd of July, 1623, this was also recorded in the *Erezione della casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, folio 4 recto. See Appendix, 6, pp. 363-364.
[7] Cardinal Alfonso Gesualdo was the nephew of Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, the famous Neapolitan composer. It is clear from Domenichino's correspondence to Albani from Naples in 1638, that Domenichino was well acquainted with the Gesualdo family.
[8] Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 148.
[9] ibid.
[10] The debate over whether Domenichino won the complete commission has been highlighted by evidence in the Raspantino will which suggests that: "*disegni di penna acqurella della cupola di Sant' Andrea della Valle del Domenichini non messi in opera no. 10.*"

[11] Bellori, 1672, p. 309, and Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 149, both mention that there was a great feeling of antagonism between the two artists. Domenichino was obviously greatly annoyed by Lanfranco's attempts to discredit him over the Last Rites of St Jerome. Stories started circulating around Rome that Lanfranco was purposely dropping paint pots and brushes down on Domenichino. It is more than reasonable to believe (as Passeri mentions) that Domenichino took revenge one night, by sawing through Lanfranco's scaffolding with the aim of trying to break his neck. Also see Malvasia ed. 1841, II, p. 224 and pp. 232-233.

[12] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, p. 239. Malvasia also pointed that the Theatine brothers rebuked him after the first month as they saw he had not begun work. Domenichino was believed to have retorted, "it is with my brains that I paint."

[13] Baldinucci, 1681-1728, V, p. 349, and Bellori, 1672, pp. 322, 325, 328. Borea however, questions this point. She dates the four evangelists as 1627-8 since in her eyes that they were inspired by Lanfranco's Assumption of the Virgin. Borea, 1965, p. 68. Borea's claims that Domenichino's style of painting was affected by Lanfranco's "Baroque" style quickly became the accepted view. Posner too, suggests the later date in 1965. as does Harris, in 1977. Spear points to the documentary evidence, in particular the payments made during 1622-5, which would suggest otherwise. In view of this, it is more than plausible to suggest that Spear is correct in his assertion that the pendentives were completed in readiness for the inaugurating in 1625.

[14] It is difficult to give a precise indication of the value of a *scudo* in todays' terms, but it seems likely that it would be worth about £7.00. See Spear, 1982, p. 12.

[15] *Erezione della casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, Appendix 6, folio 4 recto, p. 363-364.

[16] Lanfranco had probably completed the fresco sometime in mid 1627, when the pope visited the church to view the Assumption of the Virgin, for which he received two further payments of 1600 *scudi.*

[17] Borea, 1965, pp. 84 and 184.

[18] It is clear from the *Spese* that one Gioseppe Romano was the chief *scarpellino*, but from the available documents it is unclear if he did any of the sculptural work. He certainly did not make the standing stucco figures surrounding St Andrew in Glory because they are by Jacques Sarrazin. This is supported by Spear who mentions that the standing figures are similar in style to the two stucco *atlantes* designed by Domenichino in San Lorenzo in Miranda in Rome.

[19] (Anonymous): Archivo de stato, Rome, Corp, Rel, S.A.d.R. *Spese Fabrica: Fabrica della Chiesa di Sant' Andrea della Valle 1589-1633*, folio no. 82r.

[20] ibid, folio no. 83r.

[21] It is clear from the *Spese* that the building project was beset by financial difficulties. The Medici were the bankers during the construction. The bank seem to have regularly stepped in to give credit.

[22] ibid, folio no. IIIv, IVr-v, Vr.

[23] "*Et il tutto fù regolato, e compartito con suo ordine, e disegno quanto alli stucchi tutti dorati, e vagamente distribuiti.*" Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 45.

[24] Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute, XXXVII, 1976, pp. 218-248.

[25] A brief entry in the *Tavola* for Sant' Andrea della Valle mentions that the organ was constructed by the 29th of March 1664. Archivo de Stato, Rome, catalogue no. 24, II.

[26] Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII. Yale University Press, 1995. The choir was under the direction of Vicenzo di Grandis and totalled some thirty six members. The choir may well have been augmented with further singers from St. Peters' and from Sant' Andrea della Valle. Musicologists have long considered that the choir was divided into separate groups. This assumption was based on our understanding that in polyphonic choruses, different groups were organised in such a manner that they would naturally create a polyphonic and stereophonic sound. This now has been refuted by a number of eminent musicologist, including Hammond. Modern recordings (prior to 1986) have used split choruses and soloists. In particular I point to Andrew Parrot's recording of Monteverdi's *Vespro della beata Vergine* of 1610, recorded in 1984 on the E. M. I label, which was one of the first major productions (using authentic instruments) which used divided choral forces.

[27] Hammond mentions that Urban published a booklet concerning the structure and setting out of the Devotion. *Litaniae et preces*, Rome 1624. See footnote, 66, p. 316, in Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome, Yale University Press, 1995.

[28] ". . .*et maxima populi frequenta; quindecim interfuere Cardinales. . .*," *Erezione della Casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, Appendix 6 folio 2 recto and 3 recto, pp. 361-362.

[29] "*Die 23 Marey 1625 in Dominica Palmar apertus est titulus nre Ecclie et celebrata fuit p. a. Messa Solomnis cum exposite omionis 40 Horar ab A. R. P. D. Thoma de Aquino prepo A. p. usque ad festo Annun=indtionis; in qua de Pontifex Urban 8 cum 7 cardinalibg ista admit Basilicum* [sic]." *Erezione della Casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, p. 3. The anonymous writer, used a short hand, which has been difficult to decipher. *Ecclie* is probably short for *ecclisie*. A. R. P. D. may well refer to *aram positam rem dedicata*, or "the placing of the high altar into the choir." This would seem to make sense within the context of the *Quarantore*.

[30] These four manuscripts are the only extant copies that exist and are now lodged in the Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana in Florence, Ashb. 1212 1-4. The original treatises have yet to be found.

[31] 1672, p. 321. Bellori points out that the figures were four times life size.

[32] Spear, 1982, p. 251.

[33] Pope-Hennessy, Domenichino Drawings at Windsor Castle, 1948. P-H, 734-36, 738-50, 751?

[34] P-H, 710-718, 722 recto and verso.

[35] There are no exact records of who was working with Domenichino at this time. Spear has suggested that Giovanni Battista Ruggeri, Antonio Alberti, Il Barbalonga and Alessandro Fortuna who died in 1623. See Spear, 1982, pp.100-110.

[36] P-H, no. 719.

[37] P-H, 723?, 724-6, 727r, 728-33.

[38] "Bellori, 1672, p. 325, also see pp. 341, 370. "*Qui è da ammirarisi la forza della prospettiva nella figura del barcaiuolo solleuato ignudo con un piede sù la punta della barca, e con l'altra gamba sospesa iniscorto, nello sprinere il rimo; & essendo dipinto nella maggiore concauità del muro , apparisce in piano spiccato dalla superficie; & il remo, sprezzando il concavo, viene avanti con istupendo effetto.*"

[39] "Poussin and Leonardo: Evidence from the Zaccolini MMS.," Art Bulletin, 1980, pp. 570-583.

[40] Color and Theory in Seicento Art: Zaccolini's "*prospettiva del colore*" and the Heritage of Leonardo, Ph. D. Diss. Brown University, 1983. Also see "The Life and Works of Matteo Zaccolini (1554-1630)," in *Regnum Dei*, 1985, pp. 227-258. Also see "Cassiano del Pozzo's Copy of the Zaccolini Manuscripts," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. 51, 1988, and "Zaccolini's Theory on Color Perspective," Art Bulletin, March 1993.

[41] The Science of Art (Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleshi to Surat), Yale University Press, London 1990.

[42] *Prospettiva lineale della discrittione (dell ombre prodotte di corpi opachi rettilini)*, folio 1 verso.

[43] "'*Della discrittione dell' ombre produtte da corpi opachi rettilini sopra la superfiere prima*'. *Con questi (---) trattati si disorrera brod(---) de diversi accidenti dell' ombra ragionace da corpi opachi rectilininei i quali intupo(---)endor al lume ca(---)o nano nei piani d(---)pe(---)i an(chi) mine ombroso alla dencittione de (qual un nouvello principa(l) (alla) prospettiva (---) andare (h)erita (---) operarione so sotto bene che alcumi (---) si per soucrchino molti esemplau che p(---) questi trattati. Nondiameno perche pre(---)ram (---) incaminar il nu(---)imo.*" Where words have been indecipherable I have used asides or dashes to indicate that this is the case.

[44] "'*Dove fia più scura l'ombra derivativa' Quell'ombra derivativa sarà di maggiore oscurità la qual fia più vicina alla sua causa, e quelle che sono remote si faranno più chiare. Quell ombra fia più espedita e terminata che sarà più vicina al suo nascimento, e manco spedita è la più remota. L'ombra si demonstra più scura inverso li stremi che inverso il mezzo suo.*" trans. Carlo Pedretti, 1977, p. 62.

[45] Domenichino was criticised by Malvasia for introducing this figure into the fresco, as well as the soldier who is seen sucking his finger. This figure in particular finds its precedence in Michelangelo's Last Judgement, and later in Tibaldi's fresco of Apollo Stealing the Herds in the Palazzo Poggi in Bologna. In many respects Domenichino was creating a witty comment on Michealangelo's figure just as Tibaldi had done so. The reference to Michelangelo and Tibaldi, would not have been lost on Domenichino's patrons and the viewers who were conversant with both these images.

[46] "A description of the production of shadows from a solid body on the surface of a rectilinear area."

[47] "'*Che l'ombre derivative sono di tre speci' L'ombre derivative sono di tre speci, coiè o e' Saràmaggiore il tagliamento suo nella parete ove percote che non è la basa sua, o ella sarà equale. E se sarà maggiore è segno che 'l lume che allumina il corpo ombroso è minor d'esso corpo. E sarà equale, il lume fia equale a esso corpo.*" trans. Carlo Pedretti, 1977, p. 47.

[48] The architectural setting shows a remarkable resemblance to one of Domenichino's early works The Stoning of Saint Stephen, ca. 1605-07, Musée Condé, Chantilly.

[49] Bellori, 1672, pp. 332-329, gives a complete breakdown of the different colours which Domenichino adopts for each of the four evangelists. He also discusses the actual cycle and each of the saints in turn, discussing the iconographical importance of the symbols and what they are reflecting upon.

[50] ibid, p. 322. "*San Matteo dal la to destro siede sopra una nubbe, intento alla meditatione della nascita, e morto do Christo, ch'egli scrisse, respetto l'humanità sua . stende la sinistra ad un libro e riuolto à destra, s'appoggia in cubito con la mano al mento. E ben con tutto il corpo riposa questa figura, sopraponendo sù'l destro ginocchio la gamba sinistra; e dal manto giallo rosseggiante s'a prono il petto, e le braccia ignudi dalla tonaca, & ignude le gambe con gli heroici lineamenti. Così composto il Santo Evangelista riguarda sotto al libero de gli Evangeli, che un' Angelo gli tiene avanti; e la sciando la faccia sù la mano, ricopre il mento, ed esprime l'attentione sua ne gli occhi,e nella fronte. Di fianco tiene l'angelo una mano sù la tavola del libro de gli Evangeli, e con l'altra l'accenna al Santo, e l'inspira; e sopra un, altro Angelo si scopre con braccia auvolte alla sommità della croce, e con gli occhi elevati pietosamente al cielo; simbolo della passione, e morte del Signore. Sotto un' angelo aiuta à sosttenere li libro de gli Evangeli, & à piedi dell Evangelista, nubbe si vede la culla, con un bambino, che stende fuori la mano alla fascia, simbolo della natività.*"

[51] ibid. Bellori, 1672, p. 322-23. *"Siede San Giovanni dal lato sinistra tutto elevato scrivendo li misteri della divinità, e solleua il volto gli occhi, e lo spirito al cielo, tiene sospesa la penna con due dita della mano, e sospende insieme l'altra col braccio elevato sopra il libro, retto dietro da un' Angelo. Cosi Giovanni rivolto al cielo, alza il ginocchio destro & allontana l'altro, incattalcando la coscia sù l'aquila, sopra la quale egli poggia, e si sublima. Da ogni parte magnifico è l'atto; e'lmanto rosso affibiato al petto s'auuolge dal braccio destro quasi al piede, e si suela l'altor braccio tonaca verde à mezza coscia; & esquisita è l'arte di tutta la figura. Appresso il Santo Evangelista, un Angelo scioglie petto dalla nubbe, e solleua li braccio, e la mano col colamaio sotto la penna, e con un lembo del rosso manto và ricoprendo l'ignudo. In alto due Amoretti; l'uno si volge al cielo con mani, l'altro porta sù la spalla risplendente face, e riguardando à terra il cielo, simbolo della luce descritta da San Giovanni. A suoi piedi due Angioletti sedenti sù le nubbi, si pongono vicendeuolmente le braccia al collo, e banciandosi, si danno le mani, in segno della dilettione di Christo. Nella testa giovanile di questo Evangelista imitò Domenico un ritratto antico di Alessandro Magno col volto elevato; il quale è noto à gli Artifici per la sua bellezza; alla quale corrisponono tutti parti, e l'altre membre del Santo Evangelista sospeso, & astratto col corpo, e con lo spirito alla contemplatione celeste della natura Davina.*"

[52] N. I. V. St Johns Gospel, Ch, 1, v 1.

[53] Bellori, 1672, pp. 323-24. "*San Marco sedendo si vogle à destra, ma veduta è di profilo,& espone il fianco sinistro: solleua il braccio ignudo, e mano sopra la tavola del libro posato sù la coscia e nel solleualo abbassa, & asconde dietro il capo, discoprendo sotto la fronte, e guancia sinle con la canuta barba, è l'occhio intento al libro nella meditatione dell Evangelo, e del mistero della Resurretione del Signore. Col braccio si solleua sotto il ginocchio sinistro, e dal manto verde cadente dall' una e l'altra coscia, si vede fiori la gamba legata sù'l ginocchio, e sù 'l collo del piede ignudo all'uso d'oriente. Sopra un Angelo si espone in faccia tutto spiccato in aria con la destra mano, volge dietro il collo la candida bandiera di Christo risorgente, tirandone un lembo con la sinistra;siche gli fa vela sopra il capo, e l'atto, e l'aria del volto è bellissima. Sotto i piedi di questo Evangelista, due fanciulletti scherzano puerilmente, e si abbracciano sedendo sopra il dorso del loene, il quale mansueto si volge verso di loro; e più sotto sù le nubbi si stende supino un 'altro fanciulletto con le braccia, e con le mani.*"

[54] St. Mark's Gospel, ch. I, v. ii "I will send a messenger ahead of you, who will prepare the way for you."

[55] Mâle, 1932, p. 338.

[56] Bellori, 1672, p. 324. Also see Spear, 1982, pp. 249-50. "*Scuccede San Luca spiegando con l'una, e l'altra mano un volume, in cui è scritta la dignità sua sacerdotale con lettere FUIT SACERDOS. Dal lato destro un Amoretto distende quel volume, e lo regge, sottoponendoui il braccio, mentre il Santo trauolge la faccia à sinistra, e guarda sotto al popolo. Veggonsi à fuoi piedi due Amoretti, l'uno si pone in capo la mitre sacerdotale, l'altro apparisce alquanto, e tiene sospeso il laccio del pettorale gemmato. Vien ricoperto il Santo da tonaca gialla rititata àmezza braccia, e dal feno spiegasi il manto azzuro fino à piedi, che è quanto si può dipingere nello stile de' panni& in ogni tratto di pennello. Dal la to destro si curura il bue, e sopra dal sinistro due Angioletti espongono l'imagine della Virgine da San Luca dipinta; l'uno di loro dietro nel reggere il quando, tiene la tavoletta de' colori, e li pennelli, per gloria della pittura; e bene ad immortal pregio di essa riescono si nobili componimenti.*"

[57] In view of this discovery Cropper mentioned the restoration of the Sistine Chapel. It is now evident that Michelangelo used this same system. In recent academic discussions with Dr. Timothy Bond of the University of St Andrews Chemistry department he pointed out that fresco painting relied on a hydrophilic, "water attracting" system in which the pigments were suspended in water based solutions. If the evidence from the restoration proves correct then Domenichino was probably using a hydrophobic system, in which the pigments were suspended in a lipophilic "fat attracting" solution, which was mixed with turpentine. This could possibly be mixed with resins which were lipophilic and the pigment within the *buon* fresco, fusing the colours. Only then could the painter use a lipophilic system of *secco* fresco. However, this would have to be built up in gradual layers, as the secco fresco would probably flake off if placed in a very thick covering.

[58] Unfortunately the original oil based *secco* fresco has been stripped from Domenichino's frescoes in San Luigi dei Francesi, thus making any comparisons difficult.

[59] See Chapter Four, sub chapter Zaccolini.

Conclusion

In the preceeding chapters it has been shown that Domenichino was indeed responding to a method of colour harmonisation which could be matched to sound/music modes, notes and scales. Painting, like music, could convey certain moods by using specific "modes." It has been established that this theory was based on principles laid down by Plato and Aristotle, and that Domenichino was effectively one of the first Baroque painters who responded to the idea that colour could be equated to sound. Within the cultural mileau of Domenichino's day the *letterati* and in particular his friend and patron Agucchi had at hand exemplars for modal thinking drawn from the texts of classical antiquity, particularly those that taught the principles of rhetoric. Baldassare Castiglioni, Lomazzo, and Agucchi all came close to speaking of modes when they pluralized the models of perfection in painting. The modes were discussed in terms of four methods of colourisation (*chiaroscuro*, *sfumato*, *cangiantisimo* and *unione*).

Drawing upon the art of Leonardo, Correggio, Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, Raphael, Michelangelo and Barocci the Carracci and in particular Annibale, came to a new understanding of colour harmonics and *chiaroscuro*. This was based on the Carracci's own observations of the past masters of the High Renaissance, antique sculpture and in particular, their personal studies of nature, taking the best elements of *colore* and *disegno* from these sources and constructing an idealized form of art. Domenichino's educational experiences in Bologna and later in Rome under Annibale's guidance, gave him ample opportunity to assimilate the practical and theoretical aspects of his trade. Such a foundation meant that Domenichino understood the principles of formal organization of colour harmonics and the effects of light and shadow and could respond creatively to Zaccolini's colour theories after his meeting with Zaccolini in 1623 over the Sant' Andrea della Valle commission.

The creative experiences of Sant' Andrea della Valle found expression in Domenichino's The Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Evangelist and Petronius of 1626. The painting was commissioned by the brothers of Saint's Giovanni Evangelista e Petronio dei Bolognese in Rome.[1] Upon completion and unveiling the work was heavily criticised by a number of Domenichino's contemporaries, in particular, Malvasia and Algardi pointed out that Domenichino had taken a retrospective stance by drawing his inspiration from Giovanni Bellini and Francia.[2] Such criticism misunderstood Domenichino's objectives in deliberately exposing the artistic tradition which substained his compositions.

Domenichino's The Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Evangelist and Petronius, reveals his admiration of Raphael, which found an outlet in his work in the Farnese Gallery, in particular the attention to *invenzione*, *affetti* and *disegno*. That this was closely related to his concept of reality is demonstrated in this painting by the way in which the *affetti* reinforces both the reality of the invention and the reality of the emotional situation described. For example, Domenichino creates a personal and devotional attitude, through the clear iconographical imagery, and also because it is a *sacre conversazione*, which lends itself to being more personal and intimate. The *invenzione* and *affetti* were designed to touch the heart of the spectator, or to persuade them like a rhetorician or conductor may move his audience. Moreover, Domenichino's painstaking study of *disegno* came from his training in drawing from the antique and "old masters" of the High Renaissance, to arrive at an ideal beauty and harmony both in design and in colour. The figure of St. John the Evangelist went through at least dozen preparatory stages, thus supporting the view that Domenichino consciously sought out the best possible design for the pose. This harmony and ideal of form may have been tested in the designs of the pendentives and painted narratives of Sant' Andrea della Valle.

Domenichino found in Zaccolini's treatise *De colore*, evidence of a new codification of colour harmonics, the theoretical principals of which, could be matched to musical modes. Zaccolini's connections between colour relations and musical chords, is also important, because his ideas seem to echo Domenichino's own colouristic and musical experiments. Domenichino's use of strong linear outlines, rich colour and observed effects of light and shadow were harmoniously balanced to produce something akin to synaesthetic or sound-like effects. The observations of light with the resultant play of shadow is demonstrated by the rich modelling of the drapery, and strong casting of the shadow of his arm upon Petronius's body again recalls the casting of shadows, suggested by Zaccolini, in Sant' Andrea della Valle, and in particular the fallen executioner, in the Flagellation of St. Andrew.

Like the angels in Martyrdom of St. Agnese who probably relate to the six authentic church tones, Domenichino introduces four musical angels in The Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Evangelist and Petronio. Each of the four angels holds an instrument: a viol de gamba, violin, cornetto and a three stringed chromatic harp.[3] These instruments are not fictitious or imaginary. The grouping of these instruments is also important because Domenichino was referring to Biagio Marini's *Affetti Musicali*, published in Venice in 1617 which was scored for this ensemble of instruments.[4] The robes of each of the angels are painted in shades of yellow, red, blue and green. By combining these colours (along with black or white which are not technically colours) the artist can produce almost every colour created by God. Through the use of balanced and harmonious colour relations like those found in music, Domenichino creates a concordant whole.

It has been established that at least two of Domenichino's students, Canini and Poussin, were acting on, and initiated the same theoretical and practical principals. In the case of Canini, it has been shown that he did indeed take on, and reflect, aspects of his own tutelage under Domenichino, ideas which his master assimilated, from

Zaccolini. Canini's system of colour harmonics seems to match those of Domenichino and Zaccolini, in which each colour is sequentially ordered from white to brown and black. This is one of the first examples of a group of artists trying to construct and codify a new colour-value-scale, in which each of the hues and tones are systematically matched and related with each other. Domenichino's experiments with colour harmonics, seem to echo his interest in music, in particular his interest in the construction of musical instruments and a new mode, in which each tone was sub-divided into quarter tones, in much the same way that Zaccolini recognized that colours could be divided. Therefore, it can be said that Domenichino was responding to a method of colour harmonisation, which could be matched to sound. Domenichino, like Zaccolini believed that certain colour combinations affected the viewer in the same way that musical chords would; ideas, which they found in the texts of classical antiquity. Thus Domenichino was in a remarkable fashion, reflecting in his paintings a method of modal expression which his student, Poussin, was later to imitate and articulate in his letter to Paul Fréart de Chantelou.

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[1] Passeri stated that Domenichino won the commission in the jubilee year of 1625. As he says Domenichino was chosen because of his Bolognese connections and "to make more conspicuous. . .by gratifying more fully the curiosity of the pilgrims, who in their large numbers habitually flowed to Rome in order to partake in the Jubilee". Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 50.

[2] Malvasia, ed. 1841, II, pp. 226, 231. Passeri, ed. 1934, p. 50. Also see Spear, 1982, pp. 269-270.

[3] The violin and viol da gamba show remarkable similarity to ones held in the Galleria Nazionale (Palazzo Barberini) in Rome. The three stringed harp relates very closely to one held in the Museo Civico in Bologna, as does the cornetto.

[4] Renato Meucci, Domenichino, 1581-1641, Exhibition Catalogue, Palazzo Venezia, 1996, pp. 331-317.

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Glossary of Colour Terms

Azurite: A blue pigment derived from copper based minerals. In fresco painting it was applied *a secco* as it turns green when in contact with water.

Bianco di San Giovanni, Lime white: used both in fresco and in oil painting. It has a low refraction, thus dampening the effects of colours placed on top.

Brick red: A red-brown pigment made from finely powdered brick (clay), often used in *imprimatura*.

Cangiantismo or shot colour: One of the four modes of colouring. A juxtaposition of two colours used to create contrasts of modelling and hue shifts.

Chiaroscuro: One of the four modes of colouring, based on extremes of value, from black to white light.

Cinnabar: A red mineral, mercuric sulphide, which when ground into a fine pigment produces vermilion.

Copper resinate: Transparent green glaze, made from copper salts found in resin acids.

Gesso. Surface preparation for canvas or panel painting, made from gypsum or chalk, usually mixed with glue or animal skin size.

Giallorino: Lead tin yellow.

Glazing: Technique of applying a fine thin transparent film of paint over a previous layer that has dried, allowing it to show through. The base colour is altered, thus forming a new hue or tone.

Hue, the fixed and perceived colour of an object.

Hue shift: When one colour moves and changes hue as seen in *cangiantismo*-type effects.

Hybrid mode: A mode of colouring that combines two characteristics, such as *cangiantismo-chiaroscuro* or *unione-cangiantismo*.

Imprimatura: An even continuous film of colour applied over the ground, thus modifying the white/cream colour and providing a base tone, although it should be distinguished from underpainting.

Intensity: The visual strength of a pigment: a measure of vividness.

Lead white: A thick dense lead-based pigment used in panel and oil painting.

Malachite: A blue-green pigment, from a carbonate of copper, closely related to azurite.

Mode: One of the four systems of colouring first established in the sixteenth century. The four modes were, *cangiantismo*, *chiaroscuro*, *sfumato* and *unione*.

Minimum: Red lead, producing and orange/red pigment.

Ochre: An earth pigment, which ranges in tone from a pale yellowish-red to brown. Can be made from burnt brick, which is crushed to a fine powder.

Realgar: A red/orange pigment, derived from arsenic, therefore poisonous.

Refractive index: The degree to which a material transmits or scatters light.

Saturation: The intensity of a pigment, determined by the ratio of the pigment to the medium in which it is suspended, such as varnish.

Sfumato: One of the four modes of colouring, in which the transitions between colours is softened and blurred, as in a smoky mist. Colours are usually restricted to the mid-value and low intensity range.

Smalt: A blue pigment, made from finely ground blue glass. Less intense in hue than ultramarine, but it has good refractive qualities and often used for large expanses of sky and sea.

Tempra: Mainly used in panel painting. Egg white is added to pigment and built up on the surface using small strokes and hatching.

Tinted varnish: A system of adding a small quantity of pigment to the final layer of the painting, thus keying colours into the same range across the picture plane.

Tonal unity: A system of balancing colours of the same value and range of saturation together, thus creating the effects of equal plasticity and response to light. This

technique originated with Leonardo, who tried to balance the effects of *sfumato* and the *unione* modes of colouring.

Ultramarine: A brilliant blue pigment derived from lapis lazuli, and one of the most expensive materials after gold.

Unione mode: One of the four modes of colouring, which aimed at equalizing all of the tones in terms of value and intensity, without sacrificing the *bellezza di colore*.

Value: The relationship of a colour in terms of the gradations of the gray scale, that equates white with high and black with low.

Verdigris: A green pigment gained from soaking copper in vinegar or acid.

Vermilion: A red pigment derived from mercuric sulphide, also known as cinnabar. Very good hiding power, and strength of saturation.

The Sound of Colour: The Intellectual Foundations of Domenichino's Approach to Music and Painting.

Part Two

List of Plates, Illustrations and Folios

Plates

1 Bartolomeo Passerotti, Saint Dominic and the Albigensians, ca. 1580, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 280+168cm., oil on canvas.

2 Bartolomeo Passerotti, The Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple, 1583, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 390+198cm., oil on canvas.

3 Correggio, The Assumption of the Virgin, 1526-30, Duomo, Parma, Fresco.

4 Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, Girl Playing the Clavichord, ca. 1562, Galleria Nazionale, Parma, 160+73cm., oil on canvas.

5 Annibale Carracci (after Correggio), Male Figure, ca. 1580, British Museum, London (inventory number 1895-9-15-724), 20+24cm., black chalk on white paper.

6 Correggio, Madonna della Scodella, ca. 1515, Galleria Nazionale, Parma, 218+137cm., oil on canvas.

7 Annibale Carracci, The Crucifixion with Saints, 1583, Santa Maria della Carità, Bologna, 305+210cm., oil on canvas.

8 Attributed to Correggio, The Allegory of Virtue, ca. 1520, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, oil on panel.

9 Domenichino, The Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1616-17, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, 290+290cm., oil on canvas.

10 Agostino Carracci, The Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1590s, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 349+209cm., oil on canvas.

11 Annibale Carracci, The Assumption of the Virgin, 1600-1601, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, 245+155cm., oil on canvas.

12 Annibale Carracci (copy after Titian), The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, ca. 1580-81, private collection, London, approximately 5.13+3.08m., oil on canvas.

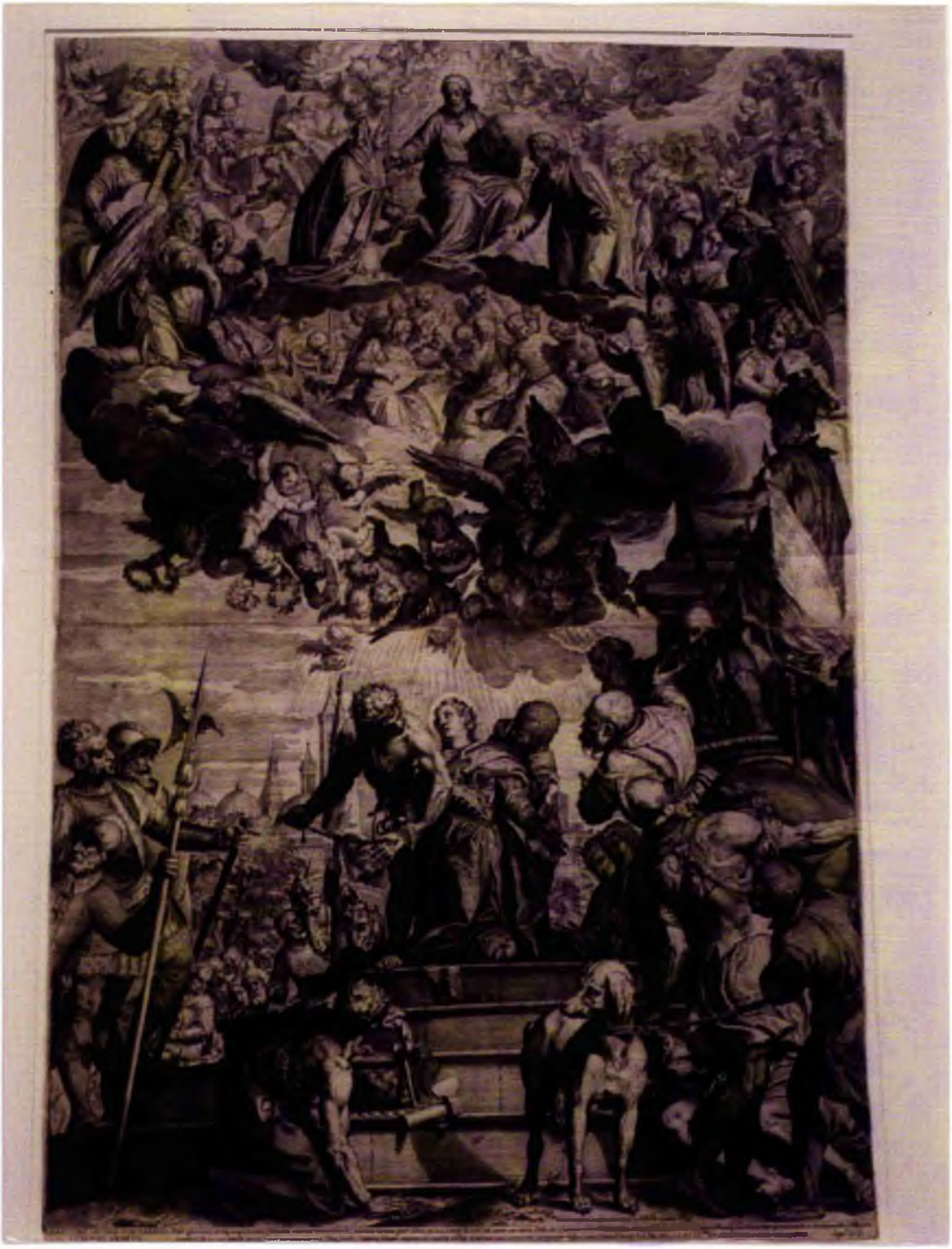
13 Attributed to Fillipo Lauri, The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, Galleria Pallavicini, Rome, oil on canvas.

14 Titian, The Madonna of the House of Pesaro, 1519-26, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice, 480+260cm., oil on canvas.

15 Domenichino, The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, ca.1617-21, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 346+238cm., oil on canvas.

16 Guercino, The Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr, ca. 1647, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, oil on canvas.

17 Tintoretto, The Visitation, ca. 1550, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna. 250+146cm., oil on canvas.



18 Agostino Carracci, The Martyrdom of St. Giustina of Padua, 1580-82, British Museum, London (inventory no. U2-106), 45.1+59.2cm., etching and engraving on paper.

19 Frederico Barocci, Madonna of the Cat, ca. 1585, National Gallery, London, 112.7+92.7cm., oil on canvas.

20 Annibale Carracci, The Baptism of Christ, 1583-85, San Gregorio, Bologna, 383+225cm., oil on canvas.

21 Leonardo da Vinci, The Madonna of the Rocks, ca. 1483-1508, National Gallery, London, 195+123cm., oil on canvas.

22 Andrea del Sarto, The Assumption of the Virgin, 1526-29, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 236+102cm., oil on panel .

23 Raphael, St Cecilia with Sts. Paul, John the Evangelist, Augustine and Mary Magdalene, 1513-16, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 238+150cm., oil on canvas.

24 Annibale Carracci, Christ and the Samarian Woman, ca. 1593, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, 170+ 225cm., oil on canvas.

25 Titian, Bacchus and Ariadne, 1522-23, National Gallery, London, 175.5+187.5cm., oil on canvas.

26 Annibale Carracci, Landscape With Fishermen, ca. 1583, Louvre, Paris. 136+253cm., oil on canvas.

27 Annibale Carracci (assisted by Domenichino), Landscape with the Flight into Egypt, 1604-1606, Palazzo Doria-Pamphilij, Rome, 122+230cm., oil on canvas.

28 Annibale Carracci, Venus and Anchines, 1602-4, Palazzo Farnese, Rome, fresco.

29 Domenichino (after a design by Annibale Carracci) The Virgin and the Unicorn, 1603-4, Palazzo Farnese, Rome, fresco.

30 Domenichino (copy after Annibale Carracci), Pietà, 1602-3 , the Earl of Yarbrough, Brocklesby Park, 53+37.5cm., oil on copper.

31 Annibale Carracci, Pietà, 1600, Louvre, Paris, 277+187cm., oil on canvas.

32 Domenichino (copy after Annibale Carracci), Adoration of the Shepherds, ca. 1607-8, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 143+115cm., oil on canvas.32

33 Domenichino, Christ Carrying the Cross, ca. 1610, private collection, New York, 51+64cm., oil on copper.

34 Annibale Carracci, Pietà, 1604, National Gallery, London, 92.8+103.2cm., oil on canvas.

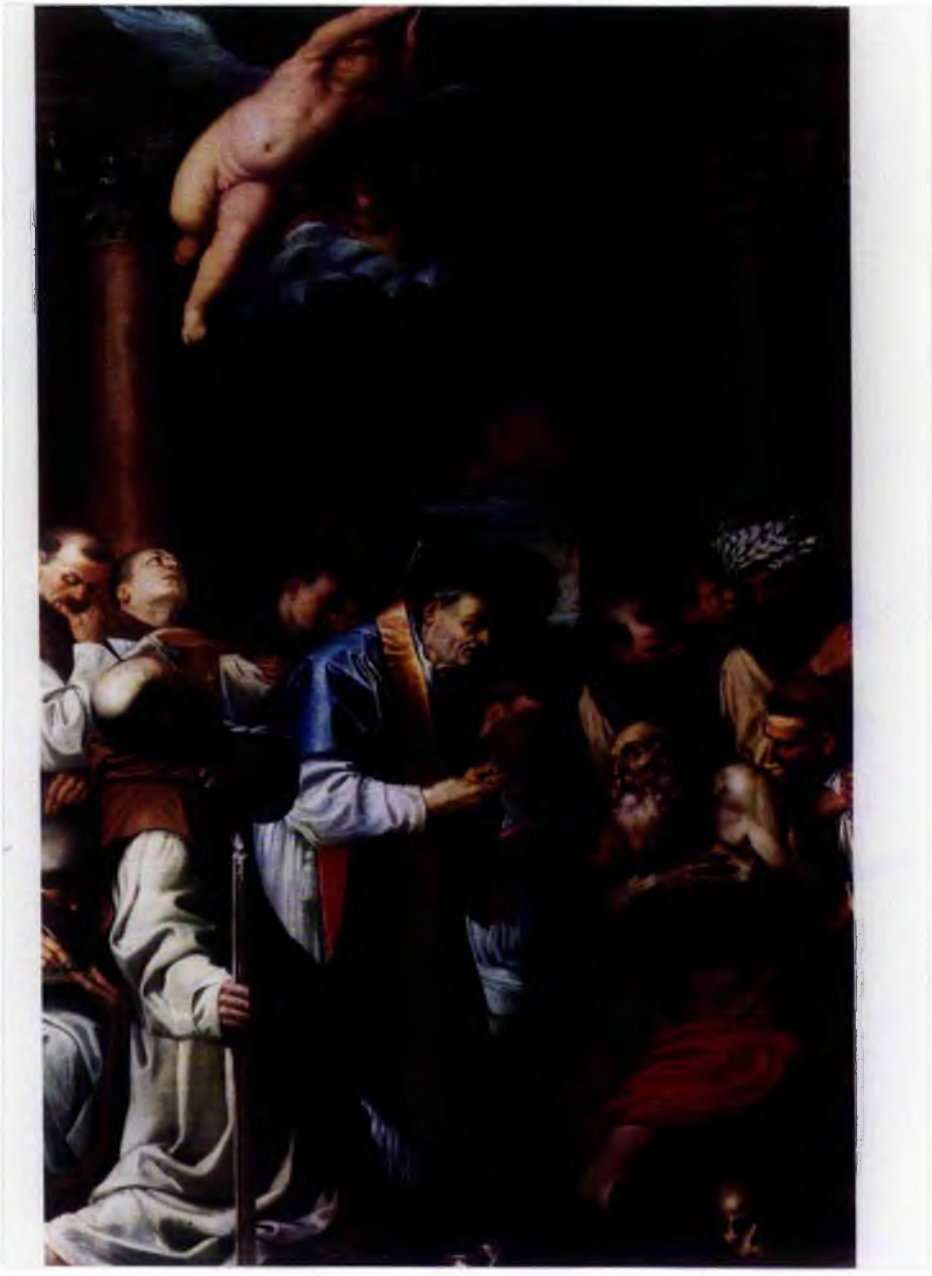
35 Domenichino, The Flagellation of St. Andrew, 1607-1608, Cappella di Sant Andrea, San Gregorio Magno, Rome, 405+610cm., fresco.

36 Raphael, The School of Athens, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura, Rome, fresco.

37 Lanfranco, St. Gregorio Magno, 1607-8, Cappella di Sant' Andrea, San Gergorio Magno, Rome, Fresco.

38 Lanfranco, Ascension of Christ, 1616, Buongiovanni Chapel, Sant' Agostino, Rome, fresco.

39 Domenichino, The Last Rites of St. Jerome, 1614, Vatican Museum, Rome, 419+256cm, oil on canvas.



40 Agostino Carracci, The Last Rites of St. Jerome, 1591-92, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 376+224cm, oil on canvas.

41 Pellegrino Tibaldi, The Baptism of the Multitude by St. John the Baptist, ca. 1553-55 Cappella Poggi, San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna, fresco.

42 Anonomous, pseudo-Seneca, 2nd-3rd century B. C. Louvre, Paris, black marble.

43 Guido Reni, The Coronation of the Virgin, 1607-10, National Gallery, London, 65+47cm., oil on canvas.

44 Domenichino, The Martyrdom of St. Agnes, ca. 1619-22/25, Pinacoteca Nazional, Bologna, 533+342cm., oil on canvas.

45 Annibale Carracci, The Coronation of the Virgin, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 117.8+141.3cm., oil on canvas.

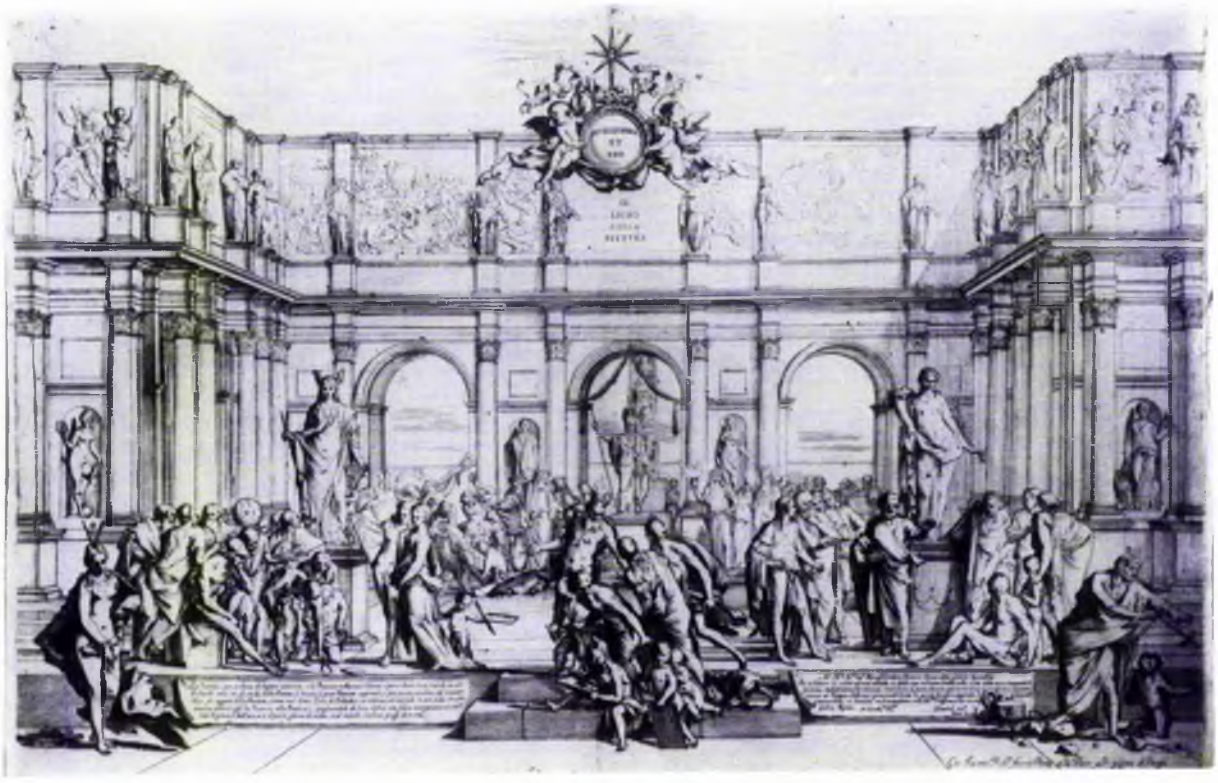
46 Domenichino, Study for The Calling of Sts. Peter and Andrew, Sant' Andrea della Valle, ca. 1622-26, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 787) 406+249mm., black and red chalk on blue grey paper.

47 Domenichino, Study for The Calling of Sts. Peter and Andrew, Sant' Andrea della Valle, ca. 1622-26, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 788), 264+311mm, black chalk, highlighted in white on blue grey paper.

48 Domenichino, Study for The Calling of Sts. Peter and Andrew, Sant' Andrea della Valle, ca. 1622-26, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 789), 340+256mm, black chalk highlighted in white on blue grey paper.

49 Unattributed, Students Drawing, ca. 1590, Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, (inventory no. Carracci, 189, F. P. 329), black chalk on white paper.

50 Giovanni Angelo Canini, Domenichino's Studio: Students Drawing, ca. 1628, British Library, London, (inventory no. 1946-7-13-708), 309+240mm., black chalk on white paper.



51 Pietro Testa, *Il liceo della pittura*, ca. 1640, Landesbildstelle Rhineland, Düsseldorf, etching and engraving on paper.

52 Domenichino, St. John the Evangelist, ca. 1627-29, Christie Estate Trust, Glyndebourne, 259+199cm., oil on canvas.

53 Domenichino, St. Mary Magdalene in Glory, ca. 1620, Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 129+110cm., oil on canvas.

54 Domenichino, St. Cecilia, 1617-18, Louvre, Paris, 159+117cm., oil on canvas (enlarged).

55 Domenichino (in collaboration with Antonio Barbalonga), St. Cecilia, 1623-30, Palazzo Pallavacini-Rospigliosi, Rome, 250+150cm, oil on canvas.

56 Attributed to Domenichino, St. Cecilia, ca. 1608-10, Royal Library, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. 398), 145+107mm., pen and brown ink over red chalk on grey paper.

57 Ludovico Carracci, St. Cecilia, ca. 1610-13, Vatican Museum, Rome, 46+49cm., oil on canvas.

58 Domenichino, St. Cecilia, ca. 1609-12, Grottaferatta, fresco.

59 Domenichino, Concert, ca. 1610, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 1278), 377+246mm., black chalk on grey brown paper.

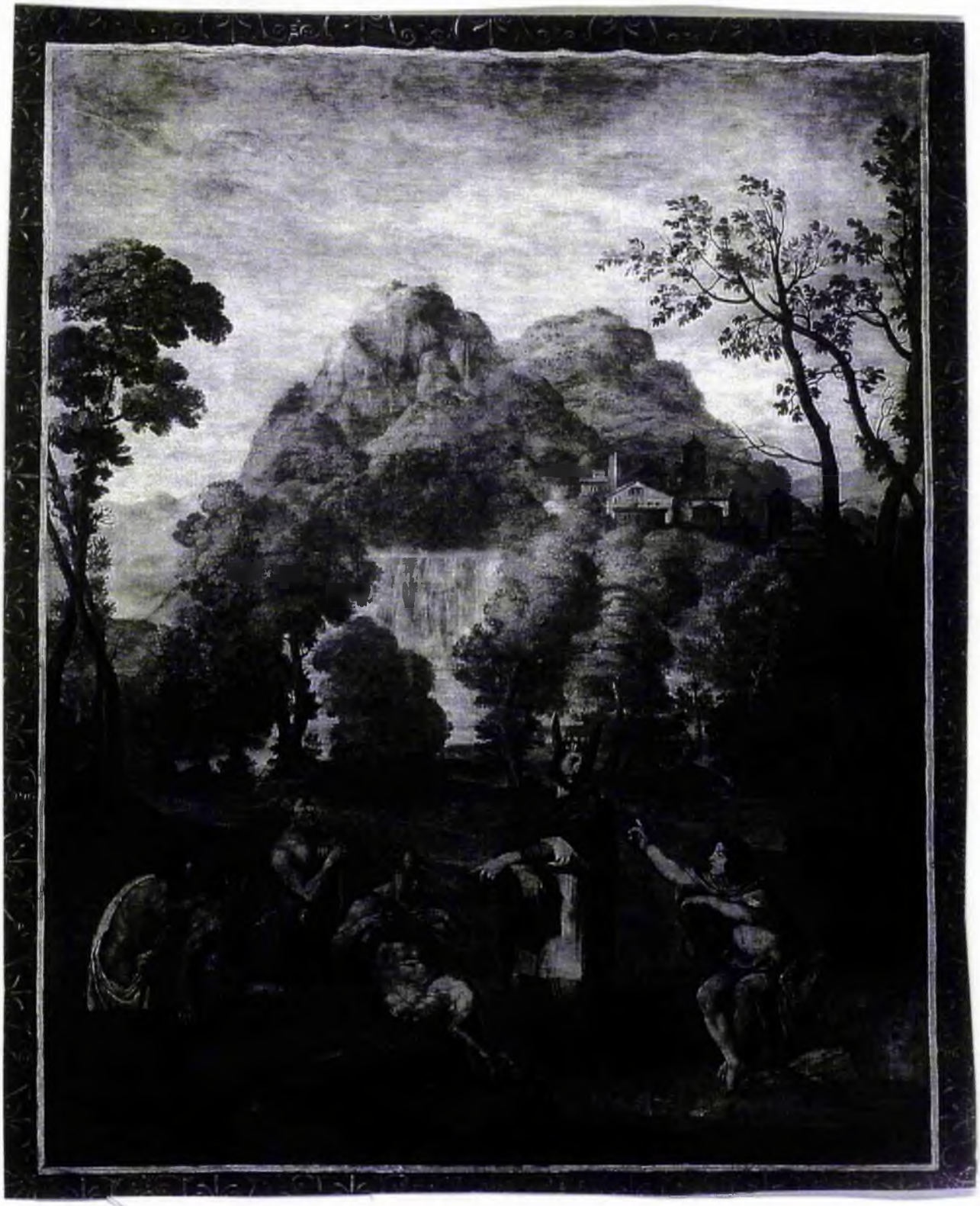
60 Domenichino, Three Music Making Girls, ca. 1610, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 1279), 217+251mm., red chalk on white paper.

61 Domenichino, The "Cumaean" Sibyl, 1616-17, Galleria Borgese, Rome, 123+94cm., oil on canvas.

62 Domenichino, St. Cecilia Distributing Alms to the Poor, 1612-15, Cappella Polet, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, 340+340cm., fresco.

63 Annibale Carracci, Portrait of Claudio Merulo, ca. 1587, Capodimonte, Naples, 92.5+68.5cm., oil on canvas.

64 Annibale Carracci, Portrait of Sanatore Macsheroni, ca. 1590s, Gemaldegalerie, Dresden, 77+64cm., oil on canvas.



65 Domenichino, The Judgement of Midas, 1616-18, National Gallery, London, 316+190.4cm., fresco.

66 Domenichino, The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, 1625-30, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Rome, 750+420cm., oil mural.

67 Domenichino, The Virgin and Child with Sts. John the Evangelist and Petronius, 1626-29, Pinocoteca di Brera, Milan, 420+267cm., oil on canvas.

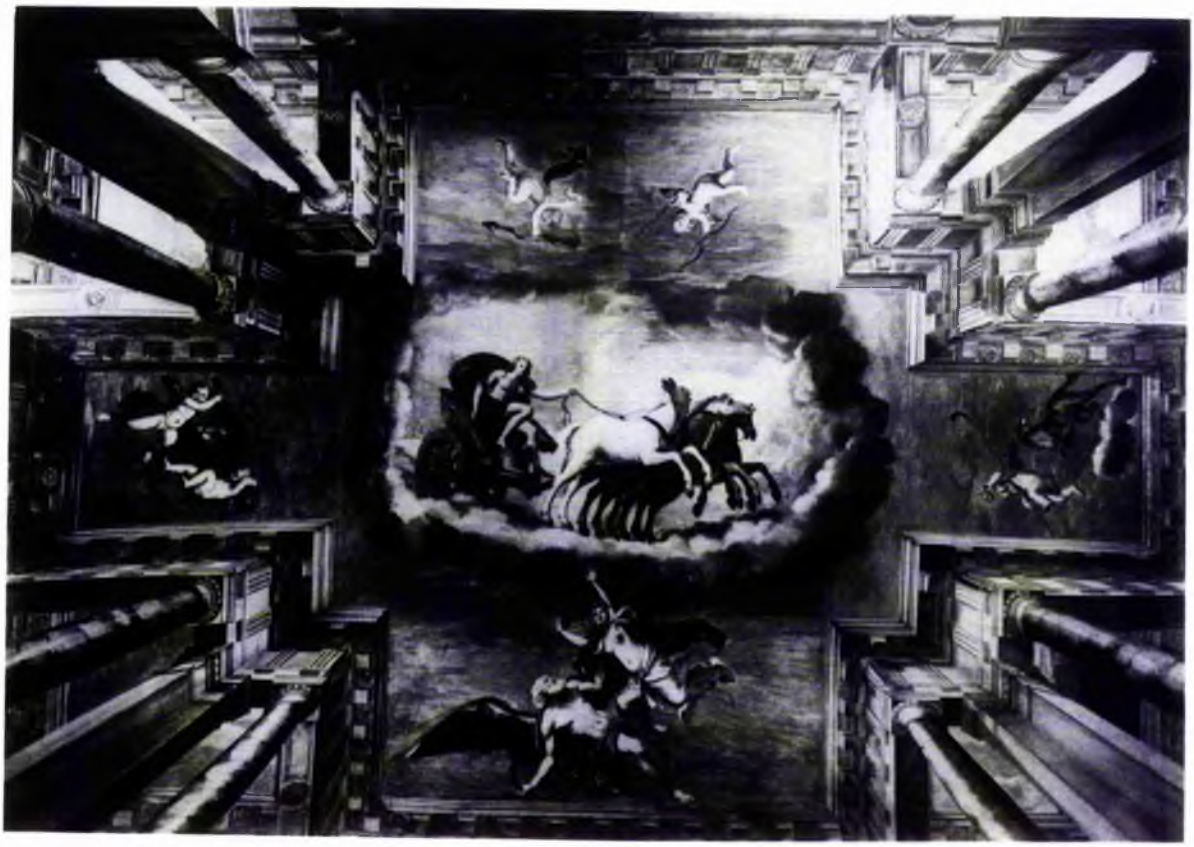
68 Domenichino, King David Playing his Harp, 1619-20, Château de Versailles, 240+170cm., oil on canvas.

69 Unattributed, Harp, ca. 1618, Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna.

70 Domenichino, King David Playing the Harp Before the Ark, 1628, San Silvestro al Quirinale in Rome, fresco.

71 Unattributed, Harp, ca. 1620, Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna.

72 Domenichino, Rinaldo and Armida, 1620-21, Louvre, Paris, 121+167cm., oil on canvas.



73 Domenichino, Truth Disclosed by Time, ca. 1622, Palazzo Costaguti, Rome, 9.6+6.2m., fresco.

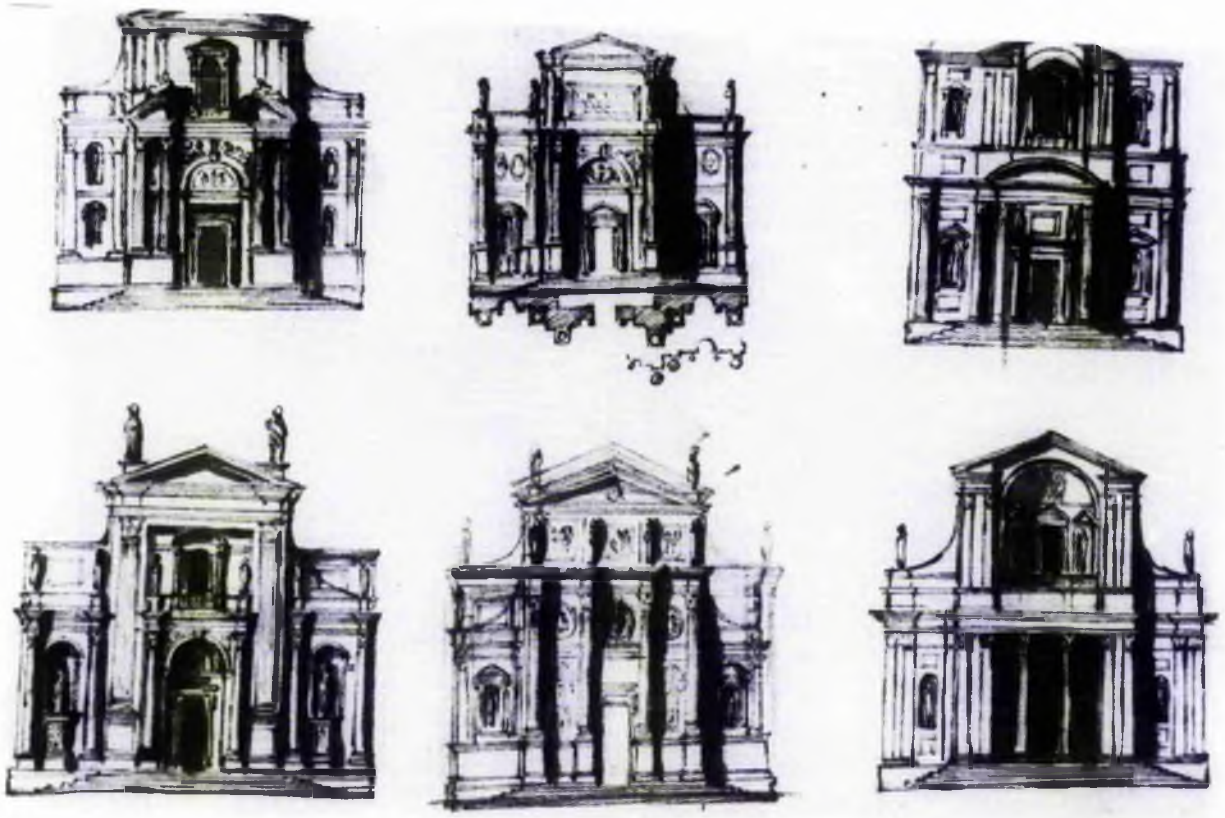
74 Guido Reni, Aurora, ca. 1613-14, Casino Rospigliosi, Rome, 700+280cm., oil on canvas.

75 Domenichino, Study for Truth Disclosed by Time, ca. 1622, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 1061), 156+242mm., red chalk on white paper.

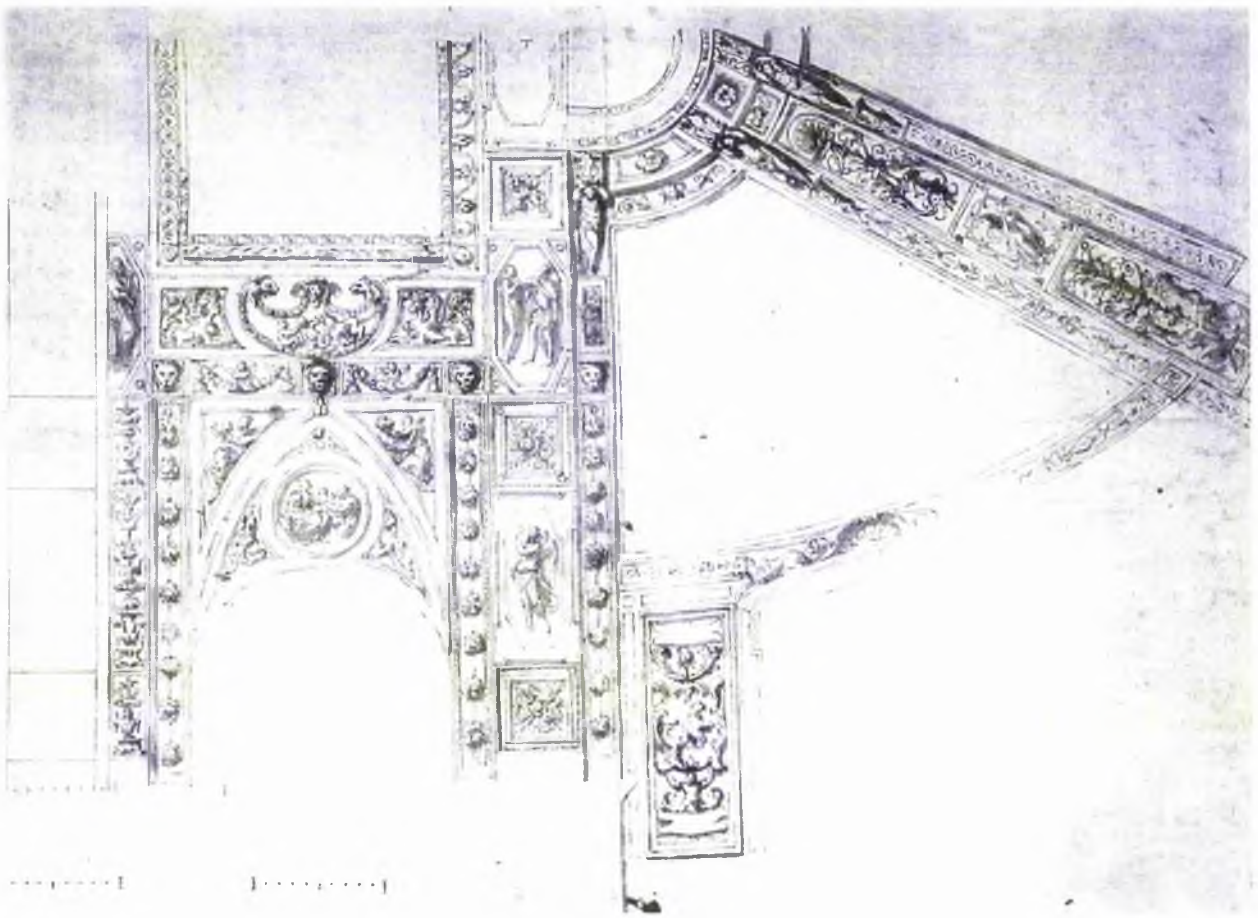
76 Domenichino, The Hunt of Diana, 1616-17, Galleria Borgese, Rome, 225+320cm., oil on canvas.

77 Domenichino, Six Studies for the Facade of Sant Andrea della Valle, ca. 1621-22, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 1735), 184+244mm., pen and brown ink on white paper.

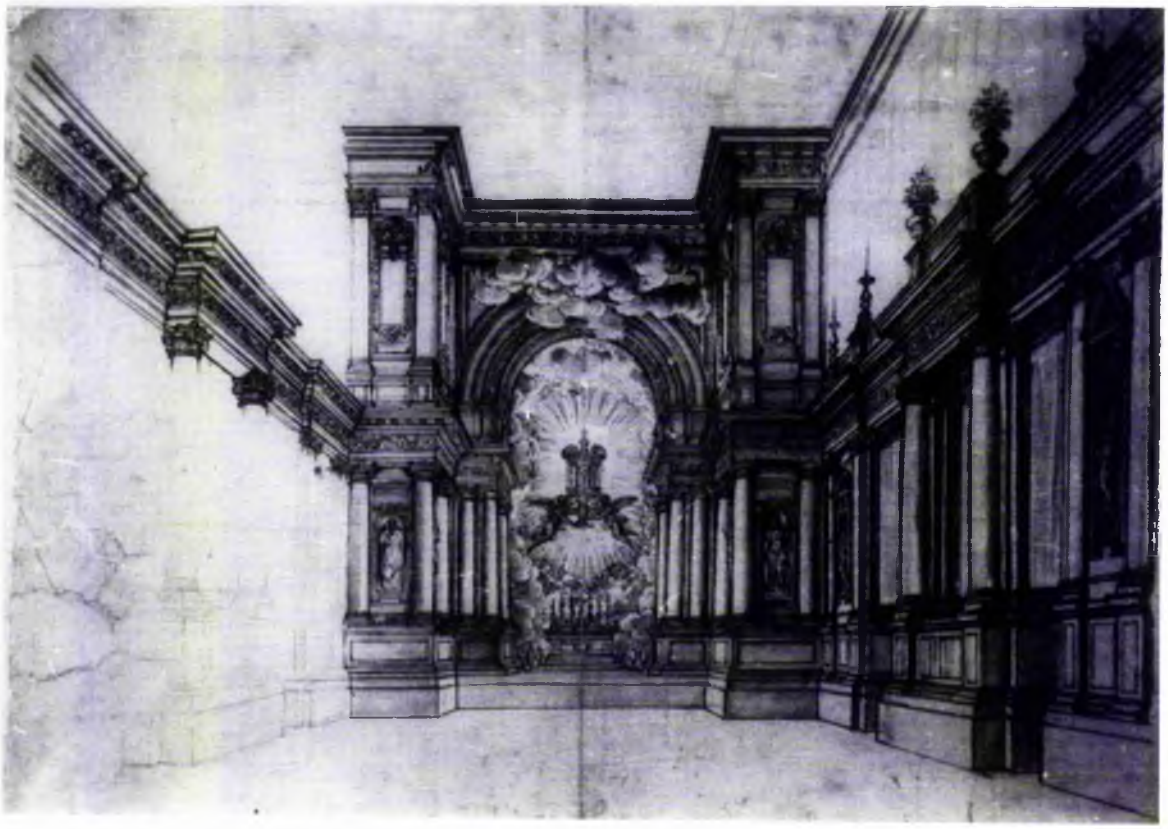
78 Domenichino, Six Studies for the Facade of Sant' Andrea della Valle, ca. 1621-22, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 1736), 183+252mm., pen and brown ink on white paper.



79 Domenichino, Six Studies for the Facade of Sant' Andrea della Valle, ca. 1621-22, Windsor Castle (inventory no. P-H. 1737), 171+250mm., pen and brown ink on white paper.

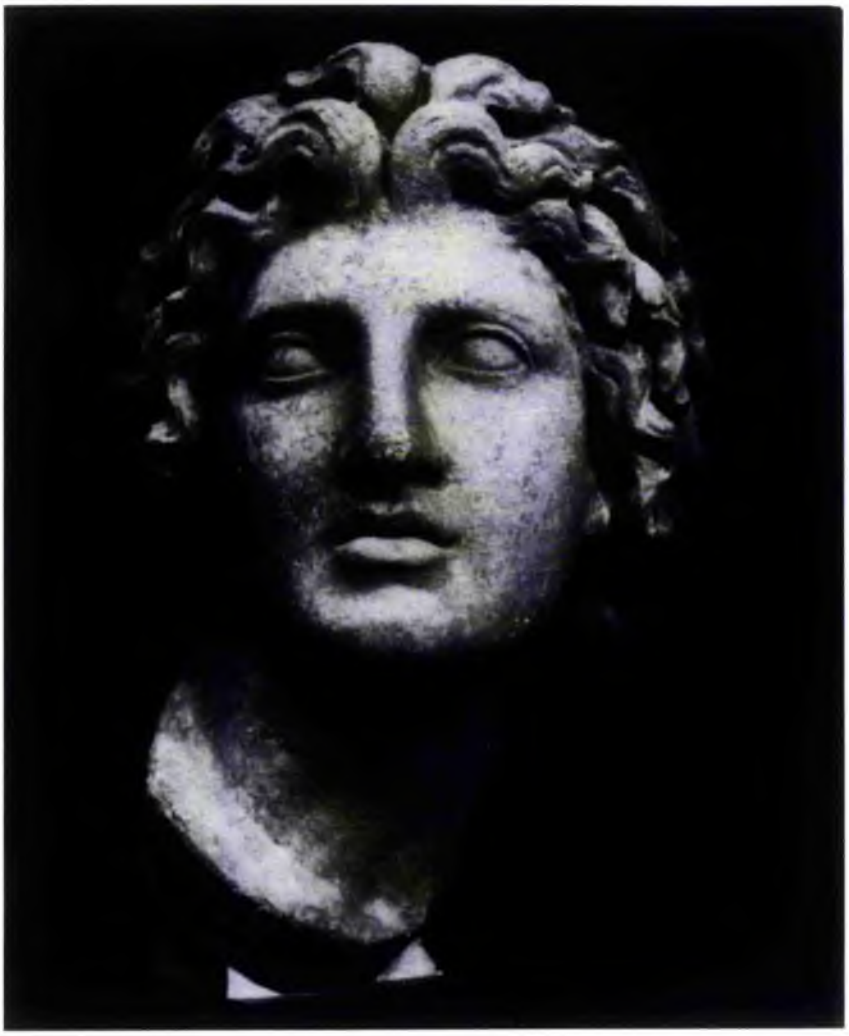


80 Domenichino, Study For the Choir of Sant' Andrea della Valle, 1621-22, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. P-H. 752), 403+537mm., pen and light brown wash on white paper.



81 Pietro da Cortona, Study for the Quarantore in San Lorenzo e Damaso, 1633, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. 4448), black pen and ink, on white paper.

82 Domenichino, St. John the Evangelist, 1622-25, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.



83 Unattributed, Head of Dying Alexander, ca. 3 B. C. Museo Barocco, Rome, marble.

84 Domenichino, St. Matthew, 1622-25, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.

85 Domenichino, St. Mark, 1622-25, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.

86 Domenichino, St Luke, 1622-25, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.

87 Interior view of Sant Andrea della Valle, Rome.

88 Domenichino, The Baptist Revealing Christ to Sts. Peter and Andrew, 1623-1627, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, 4.25+7.25m., fresco.

89 Domenichino, The Calling of Sts Peter and Andrew, 1623-27, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.

90 Domenichino, The Flagellation of St. Andrew, 1623-27, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.

91 Domenichino, St. Andrew Adoring the Cross, 1623-27, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.

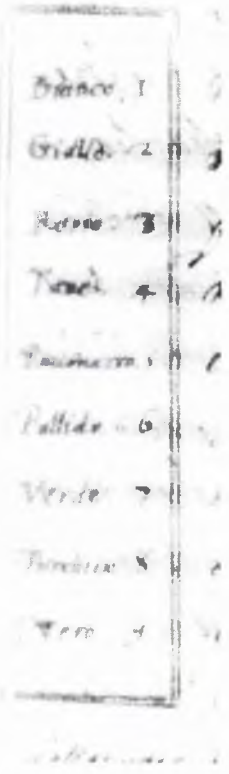
92 Domenichino, Putti and Ignudi, 1623-27, Sant Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.

93 Lanfranco, The Assumption of the Virgin, 1625-27, Duomo, Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, fresco.

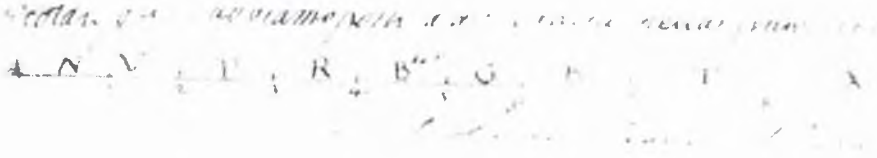
Illustrations

1 Leonardo da Vinci, Studies for Swirling Water, ca. 1513, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. 12, 579), pen and black in on paper.

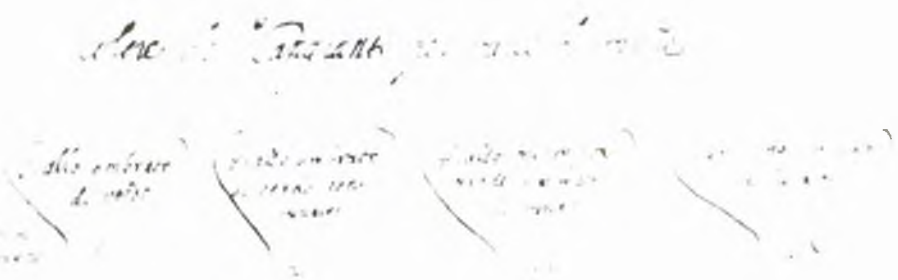
2 Leonardo da Vinci, Studies for Leda, ca. 1506, Windsor Castle, (inventory no. 12, 516), pen and ink on paper.



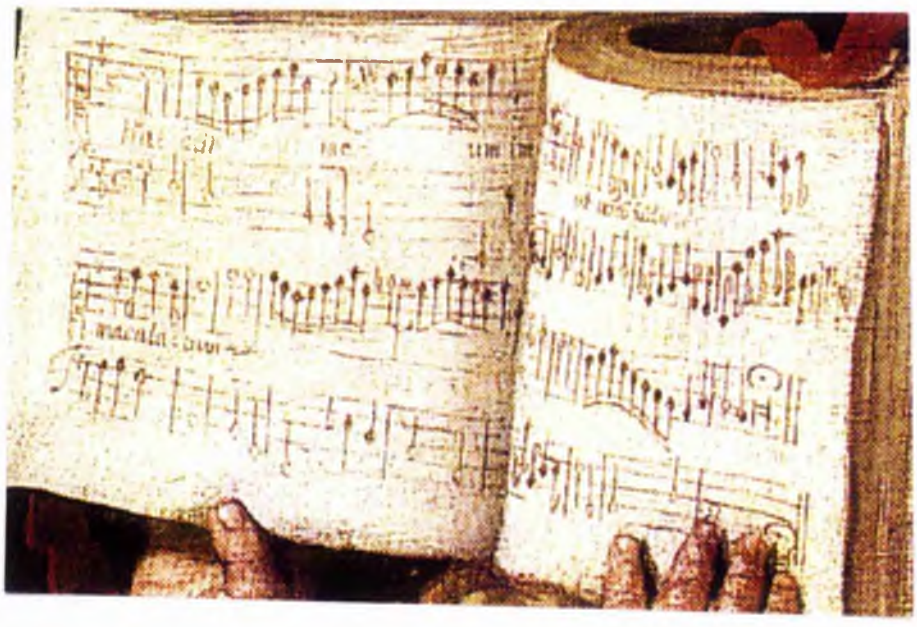
3 Matteo Zaccolini, *De colori*, folio no. 78 recto, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 1.



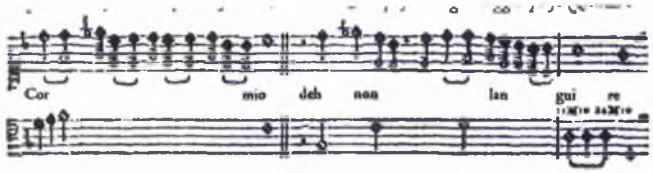
4 Matteo Zaccolini, *Prospettiva del colore*, folio no. 41 recto, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 2.



5 Matteo Zaccolini, *Prospettiva del colore*, folio no.48 recto and verso, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 2.

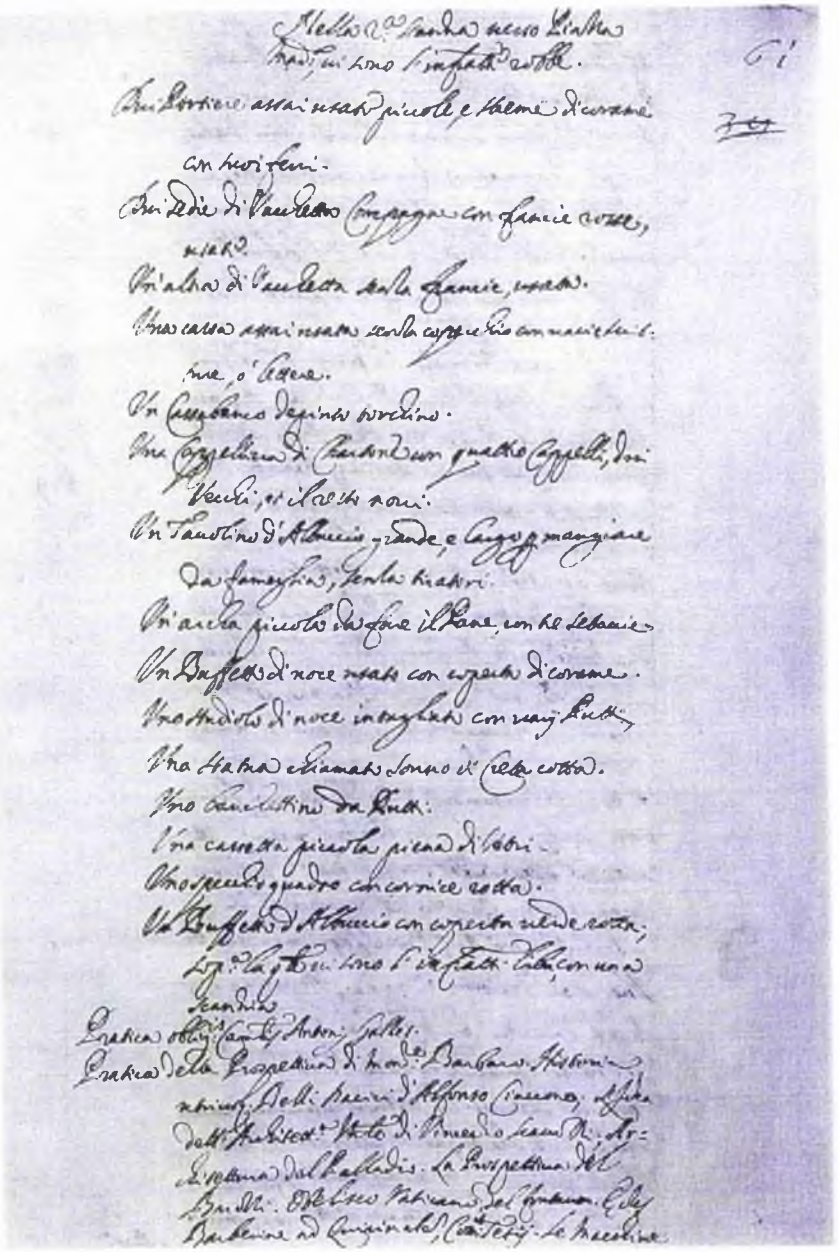


6 Domenichino, St. Cecilia, 1616-17, Louvre, Paris (detail).

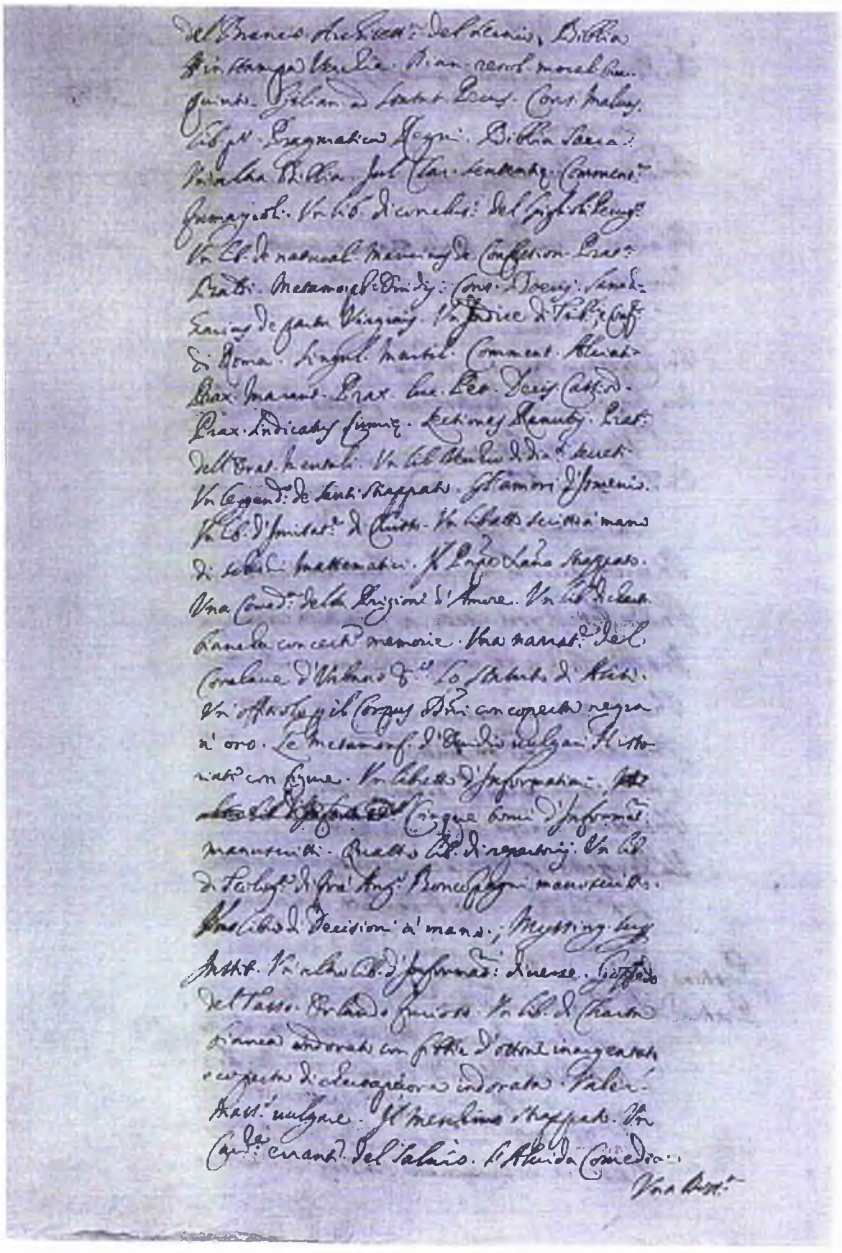


7 Giulio Caccini (after Giovanni Battista Guarini), *Le Nuove Musiche*, 1602, Florence, p. 7.

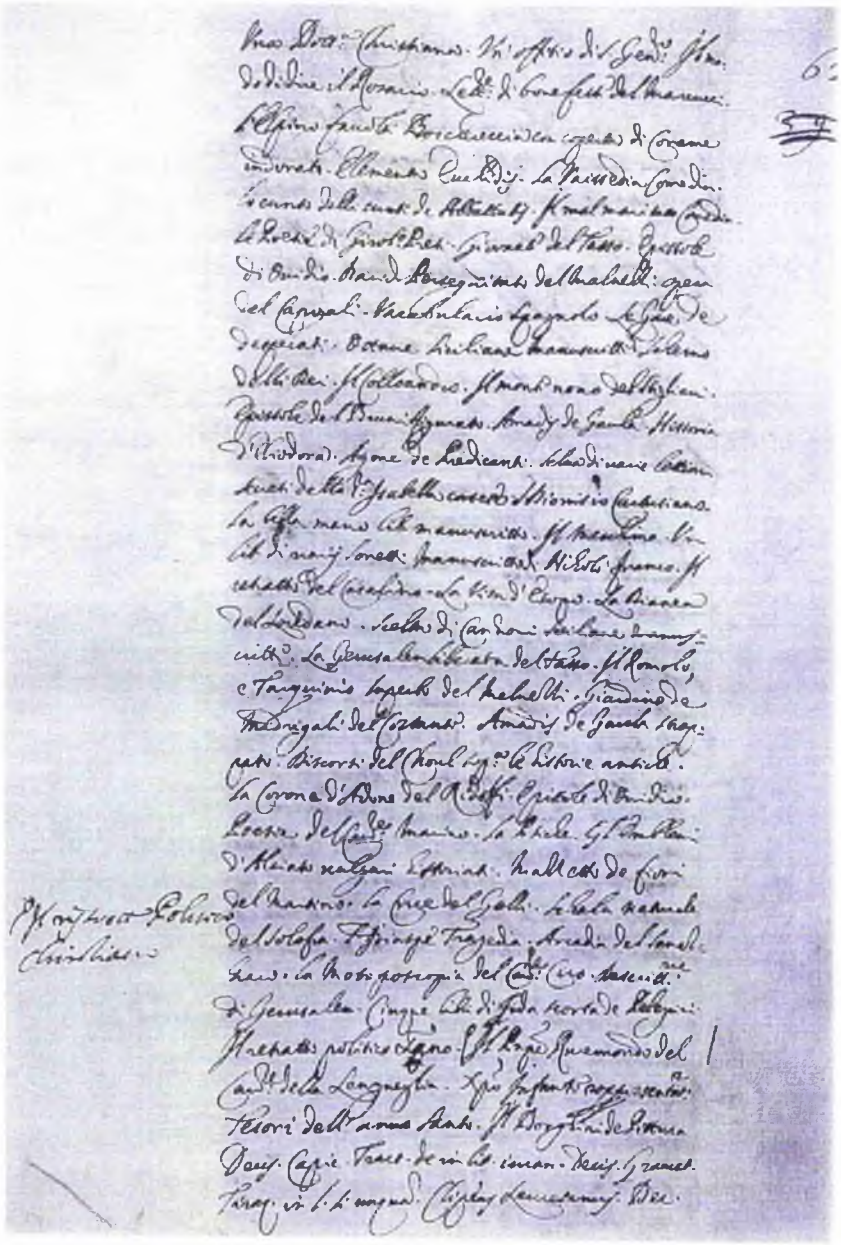
Folios



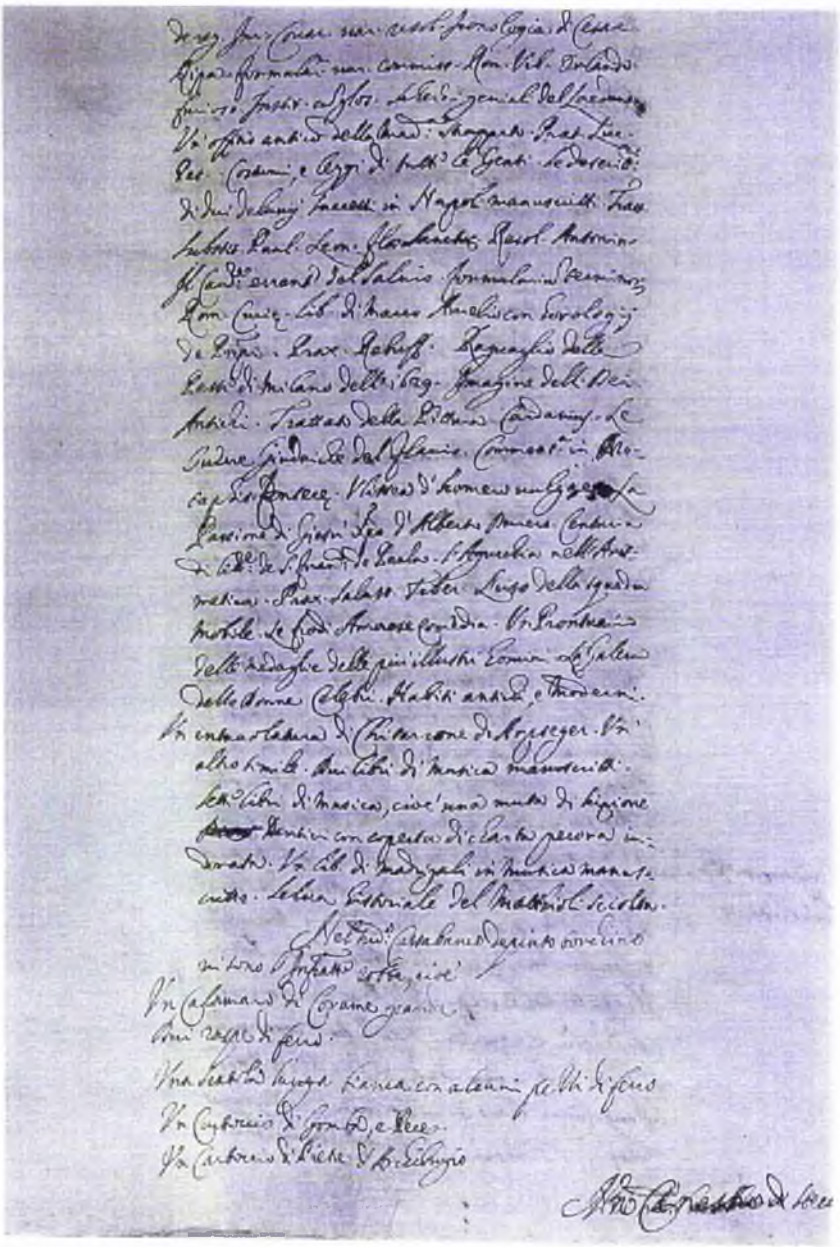
1a Raspantino, Inventory of Possessions, Archivo di Stato, Rome, A. C. Notiao, Olimpiade Petrucci, Ufficio, 6, 1664, 2a parte, vol. 5943, folio no. 61 recto, 4th April 1664.



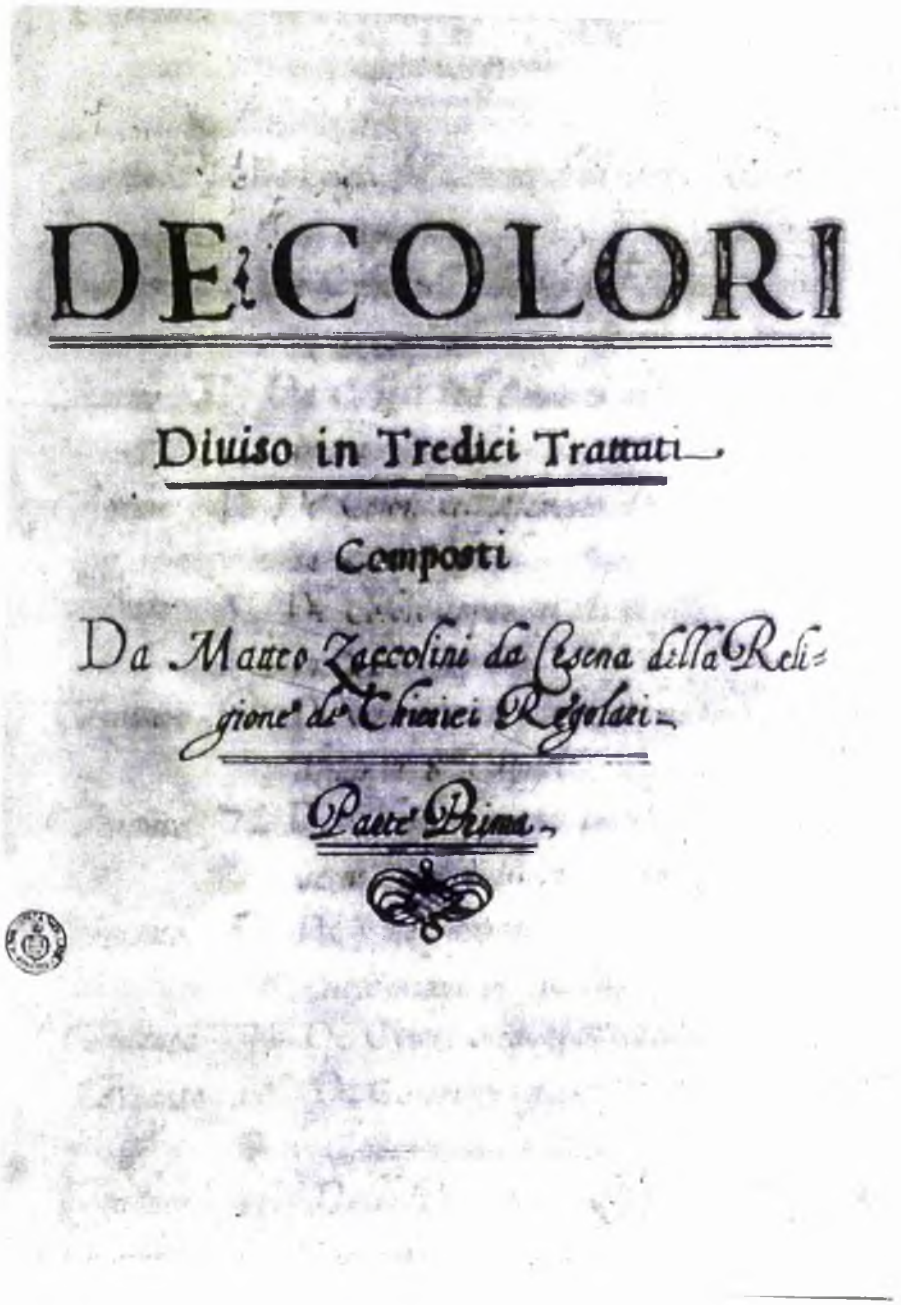
1b Raspantino, Inventory of Possessions, 61 verso.



1c Raspantino, Inventory of Possessions, 62 recto.



1d Raspantino, Inventory of Possessions, 62 verso.



DE COLORI

Diuiso in Tredici Trattati

Composti

Da Matteo Zaccolini da Cesena della Reli-
gione de' Chierici Regolari

Parte Prima

2a Matteo Zaccolini, *De colori*, folios nos. 1 recto, table of contents, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 1.

Trattati che si contengono in questa P.a Parte sono i seguenti.

Trattato P.o De Colori nell elemento della Terra, diuiso in 13. Capitoli.

Trattato 2°. De Colori nell elemento dell Acqua. diuiso in 8. Capitoli.

Trattato 3°. De Colori nell elemento dell Aere. diuiso in 21. Capitoli.

Trattato 4°. De Colori nell elemento del Fuoco. diuiso in xiiii. Capitoli.

Trattato 5°. De Colori apparenti nei Reflessi, diuiso in 28. Capitoli.

Trattato 6°. De Colori per la presenza l'vn dell altro. diuiso in 8. Capitoli.

Trattato 7°. De Colori apparenti per le Spetie impresse nell occhio. diuiso in. 12. Capitoli.

Trattato 8°. De Colori apparenti per le Superficie aspre, diuiso in. 10 Capitoli.

Trattato 9°. De Colori Strauaganti. diuiso in 17 Cap.

Trattato 10°. De Colori in refrigerio, et in molestia per Tarantati diuiso in 20 Capitoli.

Trattato 11°. Della Proportione del Colore col Suono per i Tarantati diuiso in 14 Cap.

2b Matteo Zaccolini, *De Colori*, 1 verso.

Trattato 12°. Della varietà de' Colori nelle piante de' giardini, e boschi diuise in 6. Capitoli.

Trattato. 13°. De' Colori generati negl'Animali per il bevere delle Acque diuerse diuise in 4°. Capitoli.

2c Matteo Zaccolini, *De Colori*, 2 recto.

3a Matteo Zaccolini, *De colori*, folios nos. 3 recto, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 1.

si ri generano, mà risorgendo dal spado, ertinalz andorni oltre alla loro superficie, dà l'aere, e le contigue con diligentissima cura ~~di~~ osseruai i colori apparenti in tutte l'impressioni meteorologiche, così celesti, come aggregate, come nei vapori, e ekalationi nella nebbia, nella brina, nelle grandini, e tempeste, come nella Neue e Pioggia, con gli Archi baleni della Iride, e altre cose, come saette, lampi, e tuoni, con gli segni di ekalazione ancora, e mortalese, e anche già alto ascendendo dal color della Sfera del fuoco vedemmo la varietà de colori, anche il celeste sopra di questo, il quale fa contro alla luce, e alla splendore del Sole alcuna, con le stelle, e via Lattea, Heri candore non poco adombra la vista de gli intelligenti, mà de con altra solita diligenza, e quanto a noi non habbiamo giamai visto fatica più minutamente osservando, come che i colori si generano anche nei pesci, le cui squame chi esamina gli spesse volte, e tutte le sue parti, ritrouarà, che ogni una dell'altra, hauendo un certo giuoco proprio loro, si generano molti colori varij, non dimostrandosi mai come sono. Ma altre cose ancor non sapio, non habbiamo giamai fatica in alcuni corpi lucenti come in alcuni Animali, in alcuni de quali la cagione del variare dalla varietà dell'acque si cagionano colori diuersi, come v.g. Vccelli, nel Camaleonte, e in altri Animali, generandosi in altre cose diuerse, le quali non potendosi regolarmente mettere all'ordine, habbiamo messe nel compendio delle cose maranigliose, e rare di questo mondo nell'aiuto dell'Omnipotente Dio, quale gli dare la luce nella Terra doue si troua, come nel Cielo, e non

fare molte fatiche, e sebene, che ciò mi riuscisse stato più agevole, e meno laborioso il ritrouarsi à canto al fonte d'ogni scienza in Roma dove ritrouai la facilità di apprendere l'altre cose, che mi insegnasse, ma perche mi dilungai fin' allhora. Risiedeuo in Roma, era Duca allhor Lorenzo per l'assenza del Duca Ranuccio, et accompagnandomi dal maggior bisogno della Pittura, e la Teorica del colore, facile in gio. mi parue quistionare filosofando incominciai con molt'ardore à discorrere, et à meditar il Mondo tutto sottosopra, cercando non solamente dagli Elementi, ne le Stelle, ma anche dall'ogni minimo pezzo con la considerazione filosofando, e speculando sottilmente. Indotto della superficie della Terra mi diede à apprendere la generazione dei colori nelli Minerali, tra Sali, e Pietre, e Gioie, et in ogn'altra congiuntione Metallica, et introducendomi al centro di la Terra, gli diedi mano, volendo anche trattare il suo colore, qual'egli sia, et in oltre trapassando nell'innalzarmi, cominciando di nuouo vicino alla superficie della Terra, considerai la vegetatiua come si generi, e augumenti, e cresca di massa, incominciando dalle radici dell'Erbe, Arbusti, piante, e fronde in ogni Arbore e pianta, come si generi il colore, così nelli fiori, frondi, e frutti, come in ogni Animale di qualunque specie, però riuolgendo poi l'occhio all'Acque, non solo considerando i Colori accidentali, e le varietà delle Lame dalla superficie, ma anche gli apparenti per la diuersità, e profondità, e non contento di ciò attendendomi sin nel profondo con la considerazione intorno alli Coralli, alle Conche, et alle gemme inuestendo à colori che nella varietà de Pesci fra di

3c Matteo Zaccolini, <u>De colori</u>, 4 recto.

imitare la Pittura reale della Natura da Noi descritta, in-
quella maniera, che dalla stessa Natura vien rappresentato all'oc-
chio, perciò sia tanto necessario Lettore riceuto q.ª p.ª Lume della
generatione de Colori insieme con il buon ordine, che è di mostrare
à professori di pittura la Teorica del Colore, acciò sicuramente operan
do sopra con l'occhio paragonare con la Natura, rendendosi parte
ispedienti di porre in Luce delle Stampe principiando q.ª Pa
Carta Senza la quale difficilmente si potrebbe apprendere la 2ª.
che Subito promesso Essendo collocato vicino all'altra. Et av-
vertisco che in quest'Opera non citerò alcuno Autore, per dispen
dermi tutta da quella e mera osservatione, benche mi sarebbe sta-
to molto grato il citare Soncera Aristotile, Essendo quasi Scrittura
nuova ma perche il tutto viene appoggiato co' sensi diversi l'ho
stimato tralasciarlo, acciò ognuno lo pigli, come gli piace. Per-
ciò metteremo appresso alcune attioni della Natura più vni
versali le quali saranno gli Autori che non citeremo nell'
opera, secondo l'occasione Esemplare, che occorrerà in quel-
la Scrittura de Colori. E Sia tanto prega Dio che ci
guardi

Matteo Zaccolini di Cesena

3d Matteo Zaccolini, <u>De colori</u>, 4 verso.

Authors Translation of, Matteo Zaccolini, *De colori*, folios nos 3recto, 3 verso, 4 recto, 4 verso.

Having spent some years entertaining the art of painting, I have attempted to couple this exercise with an understanding of the theory behind it.

I have always followed the rules of perspective laid down by Cavaliere Scipione Chiaramonti a noble gentleman. . . However, fascinated by this science, I spent a great length of time studying it, only recently realising I lack a theory of colour to match a theory of perspective so as to allow the painter to paint colour following a set of rules as one does for lines. Thus I embarked on an investigative journey to discover where nature has hidden a theory of colour which can guide the painter.

Since the visible is divisible in three parts i.e. firstly: distance, a description of how mass is represented to the eye, has received many a written description being commonly known as perspective: the second part is light which has received some description as part of a theory on perspective. The third part is colour. It is not possible to have perfect vision without it, since colour is that which moves the sense of vision, being reflected from the opaque mass through the light to the eye, has not yet been dealt with by any writer, so as to allow it to be practised in painting (following the theoretical rules).

Thus I embarked in an arduous journey. I know it would have been easier to attempt this feat by being close to the source of all sciences (i.e. next to nature) where it had been possible for me to learn about the other to parts. However, because I prolonged my stay in Rome and realising the urgent need for a theory of colour quietly philosophising, I began an intellectual discourse which caused me to put the world upside down, searching not only among the elements themselves, but also amongst every possible combination of these exploring the underworld as well. Not only exploring the surface of the earth I attempted to understand the formation of colour amongst minerals, stones, rocks and precious metals and any other metallic

configurations. Furthermore, finding myself at the centre of the earth without making it my abode, I none the less attempted to determine her colour and during my return to the surface, I considered the vegetation, how it arises, grows and develops; starting from the roots of the grass, the plants and then exploring every branch of every tree, noticing how the colour arises in the flowers and fruits and in all animals of whatever and further directing my attention to water, non simply considering the reflections on the surface but also the distance and depth of these, and still not satisfied I dived to the depth and considered corals and pearls noticing the variety of colours offered by the fish, then re-emerging from the bottom and returning to the surface, we, still not satisfied, went further afield to explore the eccentricity of certain animals which, due to their drinking particular water, are able to change their colouring i.e. the chameleon, such animals we categorised as a eccentric not knowing in what category to include them

I considered the colours arising from the whether manifestations, vapours, mist, frost and sleet, snow and rain, rainbows, thunderbolts and comets and reaching even higher peaks to explore the manifestation of colour in fire (sun), and then the moon and stars, the milky way whose candour blinds even the most intelligent from such a height, returning down, spared nothing in our exploration of the colour generated by the shadows of opaque (solid) objects and those arising from the combinations of such as never seeming their real colour, I relay on Gods help to shed light on the second part of this manuscript which will deal with the way in which the artist must create reality in his painting in the same way we described nature so he must be able to describe it as nature describes itself to the eye. I warn the reader that in this manuscript, I will not cite other authors, for this work depends solely on mere observations, however, I would have very much liked to cite often Aristotle since the nature described is the same but because the senses through which it was appreciated are different I restrained from doing so.

So we shall put aside some of nature which will consider the authors and whom we will cite depending on the matters dealt with in the following chapters on colour. In the mean time prey God he will help us

CONCLVSIONI
NEL SVONO DELL'
ORGANO.
Di D. Adriano Banchieri Bolognese, Oliuetano,
& Organista di S. Michele in Bosco.
Nouellamente tradotte, & Dilucidate, in
Scrittori Musici, & Organisti Cellebri.
OPERA VIGESIMA.
ALLA GLORIOSA VERGINE,
ET MARTIRE SANTA CECILIA
Deuota de gli Musici, & Organisti.
DEDICATA

In Bologna, per gli Heredi di Gio. Rossi M. D C VIIII.
Con licenza de' Superiori.

4a Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusoni nel suono dell organi*, 1609, p. 1.

2

SONETTO
DEDICATORIO A SANTA
Cecilia Vergine, & Martire.

Ecco *Vmil' ſeruo à te Vergine Santa,*
Che col' ginocchio in atto riuerente
Conſacra acerbo frutto di ſua mente,
Sotto dolce ombra di feconda pianta;
Ecco Vmil ſeruo, che in concerto canta
Di quella, che ſprezzò ſpontaneamente,
Le volluttà i piaceri, e in continente
Col ſuo Sposo Iesv' *s'annida, e ammanta;*
Dolce Calandra, *che là ſù nel Cielo*
Organiſta sè tù di quelle elette
Concertatrici auanti il vero Iddio,
Dhe fà ti prego, pauſa à vn core annhelo,
E ottieni (ben che indegno) a mani erette,
Che anneſſo ſia trà quei Concerti anc' io.

PRECATIONE DI SERVO INDEGNO

VEnite ad me omnes S. Matt. xj. *qui laboratis, et onerati eſtis, et ego reficiam vos.* Si come S. Cecilia in vdendo queſta ſoaue armonia per bocca di S. Vrbano, modulandoſela al core ottenne la ſanità ſpirituale in Valleriano & altri Santi, così di preſente, Dhè le piaccia (mediante quel Diuino volere) ottenere la corporale nel Reverendissimo P. D. Angiolo Maria Alchiggi Abbate Generale Oliuetano, et à S. P. R. con tutti gli di lei Deuoti l'eterna felicità nel Santo Paradiſo. Amen.

ORI-

4b Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusoni nel suono dell organi*, 1609, p. 2.

ORIGINE DELLA DEVOTIONE CHE Gli Musici, & Organisti tengono alla Gloriosa Santa CECILIA VERGINE, ET MARTIRE.

IN *salicibus in medio eius: suspendimus Organa nostra*, Dice il Serenis. Rè Dauid; In questo luogo Nicolò de lira espone *subtraxerunt ob omni carmine letitie*, & Alessandro de ales, *letitie vel doctrine*, doue che *cantantibus Organis* CECILIA *Virgo soli* DEO *decantabat*, si come habbiamo nella di lei festiuità, intender deuesi l'Organo della voce humana, dearticolata, essendo il proprio di essa il cãto, & nõ altrimenti il suono, & ciò per maggiore cõfermatione pronuntiasi nell'Hinno di S. Giouãni Battista, *Organa vocu*, & in Iob *Organum meum in vocem flentium*.

LORENZO Surio in descriuendo la vita, & martirio di S. CECILIA, racconta, essè mentre fu fatta la sposa da gli suoi genitori, in Valleriano (qual poi fu Santo) mentre erano preparate le feste nozziali, iui furono concertati suoni, & canti secõdo l'vsanza di quei tempi, ma la Vergine, che tutta ardeua in amor Diuino, sprezzãdo quelle armonie, & mondani piaceri, annhellate riuolta al Cielo cantaua con dolcezza cordiale sacre lodi al suo vero sposo IESV' CHRISTO.

Appresso il Methafraste, Vorraggine, fiãma, & altri scrittori autentici, nõ trouasi nella di lei vita, che suonasse Organi musicali si come da infinite pitture viene significata

4c Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusoni nel suono dell organi*, 1609, p. 3.

4

gnificata,& è cosa chiarissima,atteso,che in quei tempi gl'Organi suonati per acquedotti,& cõmãtici nõ erano praticati,& questo habbiamo nella secõda Cõclusione, che quelli suonati per acquedotti furono praticati l'anno salutare 654. sotto Vitalliano Papa,& Cost.3. Imperatore,& quello cõ mãtici sotto Benedetto Papa 8. & Henrico Santo l'ãno 1018.& essendo S. Cecilia l'anno 223.al tẽpo di S. Vrbano Papa Imperante Comodo(bẽ che l'Illustriss.Car.Barronio nel martirologio dica,che fu sotto Marco Aurelio Seuer.Alesſ.è dunque cosa chiara,che nel 223. gl'Organi musicali erano impraticati.

E però vero,che gl Organisti, & Musici la tẽgano in particolare deuotione,& doue,& quãdo introdotta fosse,è cosa da saperſi, & si come realmẽte l'hò inuestigata io,& hà del sicuro, così crederò, che altri à quali forse nõ è noto,caderãno in questa pia, & deuota credenza.

L'ãno salutare 1513. sotto Leone X. & l'inuittissimo Carlo V. Imp. (si come affermna Giorgio Vasari nel lib. delle vite di Pittori Illustri P.3.) Visse il cellebratissimo Raffaello di Vrbino,il quale trà le industre pitture,ch'egli oprò pinse questa gloriosa S. Cecilia,& essendo marauiglioso nelle inuentioni,posegli vn Organo in amẽdui le mani fracassato, & riuolto verso il cẽtro della terra,& sotto gli piedi altri stromẽti musicali quasi cõculcati, & ella riuolta alle armonie del Cielo cõ ciglio pietosissimo tutta rapita di santo zelo,par si che dica; Gitene gitene suoni,cãri,& voi tutti mõdani piaceri alla grãma dre antica, che io altro non bramo solo essere assignata nella

4d Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusoni nel suono dell organi*, 1609, p. 4.

nella ſantiſsima Cappella Muſicale trà quei Muſici, & Organiſti elletti vittoriosi gli quali concertano cõtino amẽte auãti il mio dolciſsimo ſpoſo Iesv' sãto,sãto,sãto.

O'come bene inuẽtò Raffaello pigliãdo tal ſoggetto, eſsẽdo l'Organo quello, che trà tutti gl'Organici ſtromẽti tiene il primo ſeggio,dicẽdo Dion Car. *Organum primũ locũ tenet;quia manet in eccleſia Chriſti militantis, vt laudes Diuinæ exprimantur*; La copia di queſta ſtupenda Pala è ſparſa in diuerſi luoghi, & in particolare vna di Guido Reni al preſente Pittore dell'Illuſtriſs. Car. Borgheſi; Allo Illuſtriſs. & Reuerendiſs. Card. di preſente Veſc. di Cremona tenuta in grandiſsima veneratione, come ſua particolar deuota(chiaro teſtimonio il marauiglioſo ſepolcro erettogli in Roma nella Chieſa delle Reuerẽde Madri di S. Cecilia titolo di S. S. Ill. & Reuer. Vn'altra ſimile viene effigiata nel Chioſtro nouello à otto faccie entro l onoratiſsimo monaſtero di S. Michele in Boſco per mano di Alleſſandro Albini diſcepolo di Lodouico Caracci amendui Bologneſi, & altre in altri luoghi,il vero però originale ritrouaſi in Bologna nella Chieſa de gli RR.PP.di S.Giouãni in monte Canonici Lateranẽſi tenuto in grãde ſtima,& veneratione.

Sparſo il grido in diſſegno,viſſe nell'iſteſſo tempo il cellebre Giouãni Antonio Vercelleſe,il quale ritrouãdo ſi nella Città di Siena in occaſione di certe opre,vẽnegli in penſiero pignere vna figura tale, ma ſotto vario diſſegno,cioè,con l'Organo da lei quaſi induſtremẽte ſuonato,& cõ ſeconda faccia in cõpagnia d'vn Cherubino,

4e Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusoni nel suono dell organi*, 1609, p. 5.

6

no,assimigliato al Pellicano,par che cordialmente con certino quelle infinite melodie del Cielo.

A' tale applauso gli Musici,& Organisti Senesi ogn'anno p tradittioni à gli 22.di Nouembre, giorno applicato da S.M.C.in onore di detta sãta,cõcertano vna Messa solẽne nella Chathedrale,ond'io dodeci ãni sono mi ritrouai presẽte essẽdo Arciuesc.l'Illust.S.Ascanio Piccolomini,la quale fu cõcertata cõ grãdissimo cõcorso di virtuoso ridotto,essẽdo maestro di capella,& Organista Andrea Feliciani,& Frãcesco Biãciardi, le cui anime sieno à godere il frutto,& merito in Paradiso; Gli musici Milanesi ancor essi,p quãto mi viene referto, in tal giorno osseruano tal pia cõsuetudine nella Chiesa Ducale di S. Maria della scala;à qlla deuota cõcorrẽza dourião i tutte le Città gli Musici,& Organisti impiegarsi,& si come (così nõ fosse egli vero)p lo piũ nascono emulationi prodotte,ò da inuidia di sufficiẽza, ò auidità di guadagni,ò applauso di mondane lodi; così concordemente onorare quella gloriosa S. Cecilia.

Dhe piacesse à Iddio, che p beneficio cõmune, qste mie maltessute parole fossero efficaci in tal deuota concorenza cõ gli Musici,Senesi,Milanesi,& Ferraresi(che pure nella di loro Città osseruano in S.Maria del Vado Chiesa de gli R.R.Canonici dell'ordine di S Saluatore quella deuota consuetudine)acciò che tutti gli professori à lei deuoti,nel lasciare gli concerti transitorij di questa mondana vita, sieno fatti degni nell'altra godere in sempiterno quelli,che mai hanno fine.

PRIMA

4f Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusoni nel suono dell organi*, 1609, p. 6.

5a Fransesco Sammaruco, Vespers of the Blessed Virgin, 1625, folios no. 1 recto, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.

Illustriſs. & Reuerendiſs. Sig. mio Padrone Colendiſs.

IL SIG. CARDINALE

CARLO MADRVZZO

VESCOVO, ET PRENCIPE DI TRENTO.

VESTA varia raccolta di Compoſitioni fatte da Huomini ſegnalatiſſimi nella profeſſione della Muſica, non ad altri più giuſtamente ſi deuono, che à V.S. Illuſtriſſima, come quella che godendo nell'interno dell'animo ſuo dell'armonico concerto, che iui ſi forma del continuo dalle ſue rare virtudi, non può ſe non ſegnalatamente gradire i profeſſori dell'Armonia; fra i quali ſe ardiſco anch'io di comparire al preſente, & inſerir fra queſti alcuni miei componimenti, non credo però di douer eſſerne incolpato da V. S. Illuſtriſſima, che sà beniſſimo, che ſenza l'ombre difficilmente ſpiccano i più vini colori, & che nel canto iſteſſo le durezze ſeruono à meraviglia per lusinga maggiormente l'orecchie. Che ſe ad altri parèſſe ſouerchia temerità la mia, in offerire à V.S. Illuſtriſſima le coſe altrui, ſcuſi in queſto la mia pouertà, che non mi laſcia con che ſodisfar del proprio à cui deuo tutto me ſteſſo, & conchiuda che quanto eccede in lei la benignità, altretanto io procurarò ſempre di corriſponderle con diuotione & oſſeruanza infinita. Guardi il Signor Iddio per lungo tempo la perſona di V. S. Illuſtriſſima come io le auguro con ogni più vero affetto, & riuerentemente me le inchino.

Di V. S. Illuſtriſs. & Reuerendiſsima

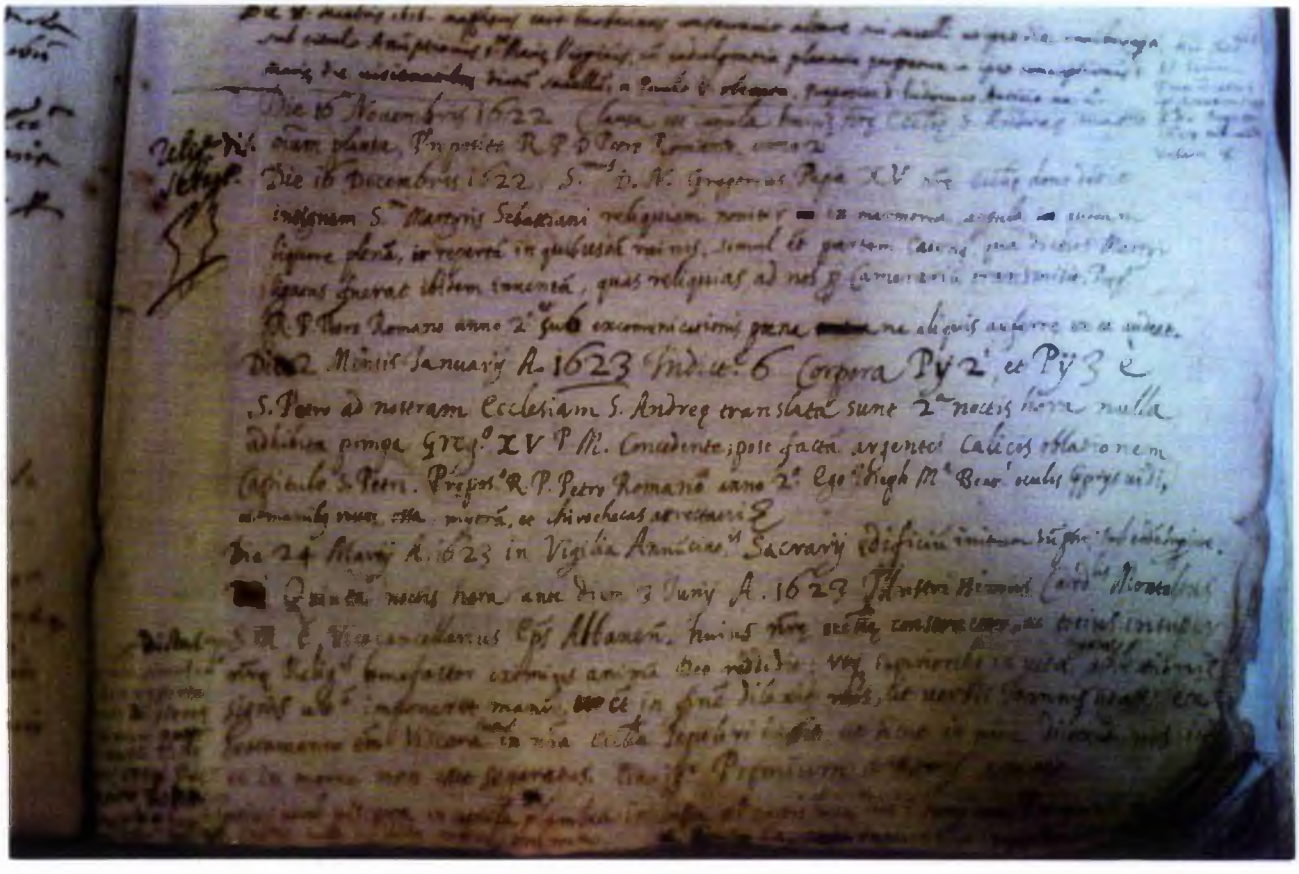
Humiliſs. & deuotiſs. Seruitore

Francesco Sammaruco.

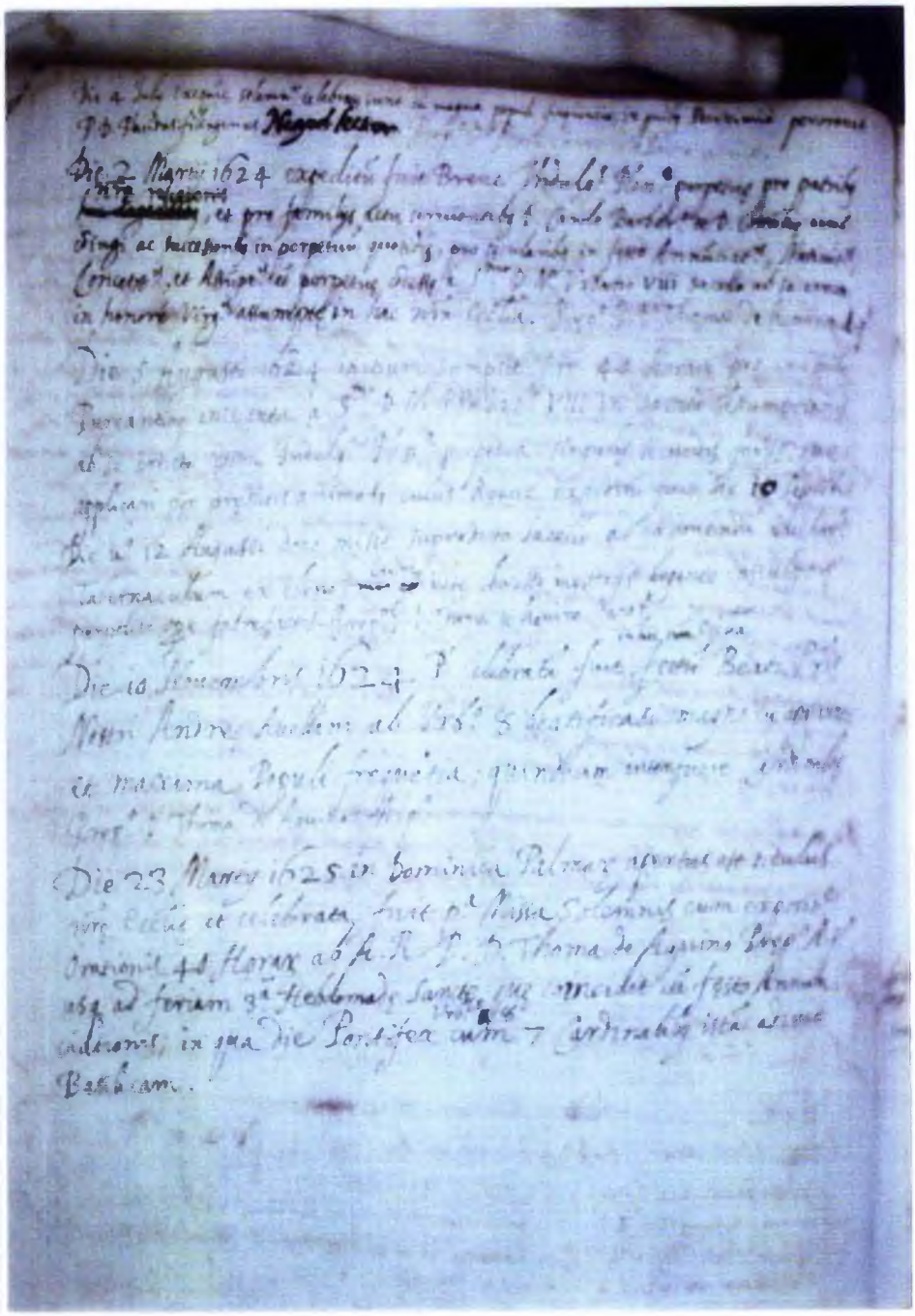
Imprim. Si videbitur Reuerendiſs. P. Mag. Sac. Palat.
A. Epiſc. Hieracen.

Imprim. Fr. Vincentius Martinellus Socius R. P. Mag. Sacr. Palat. Apoſt.

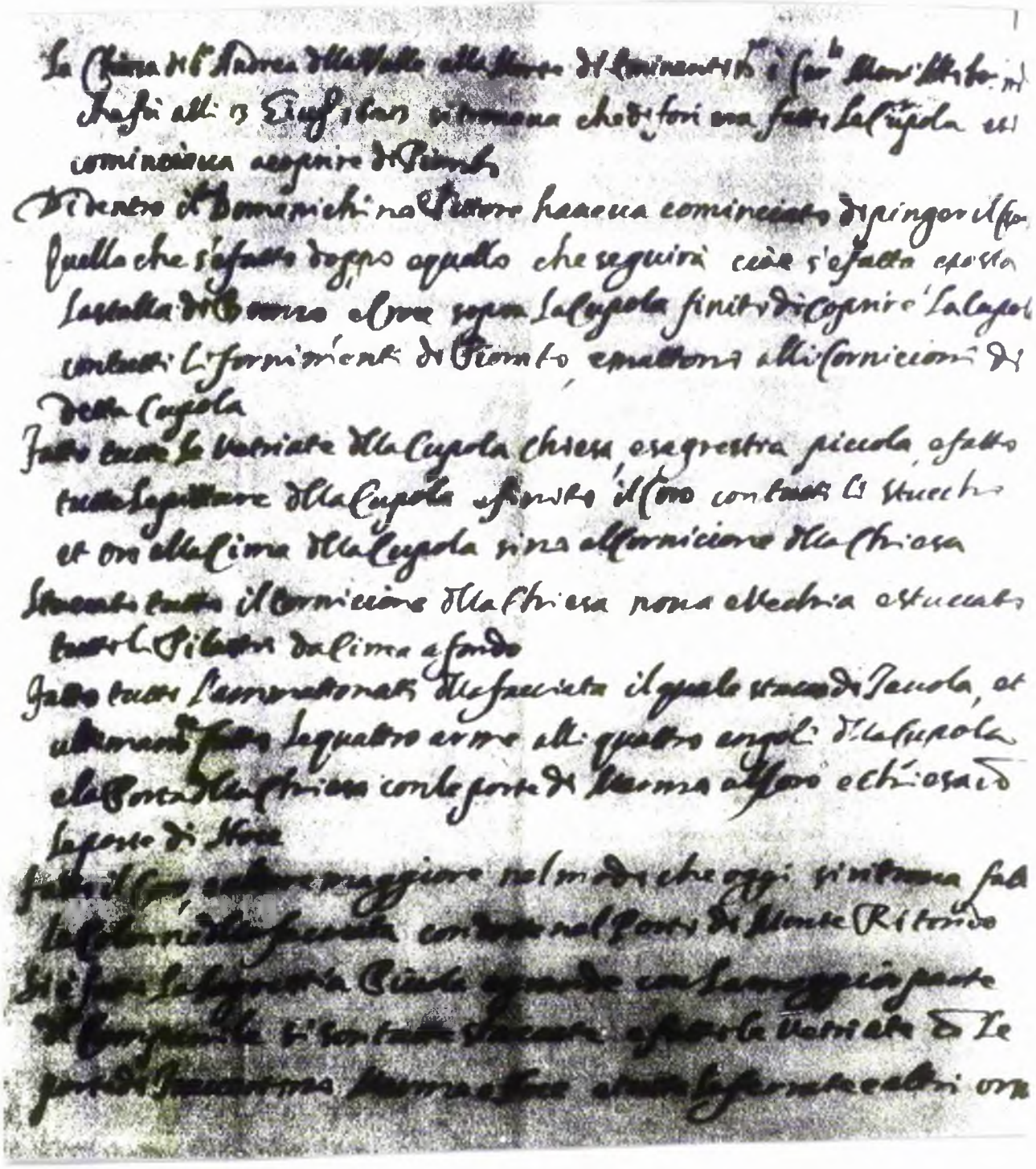
5b Fransesco Sammaruco, Vespers of the Blessed Virgin, 1625, folios no. 2 recto, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.



6a Anonymous, dal Archivo di Chiesa di Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, *Erezione della Casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, folio no. 2 recto.



6b Anonymous, dal Archivo di Chiesa di Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, *Erezione della Casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, folio no. 3 recto.



6c Anonymous, dal Archivo di Chiesa di Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, *Erezione della Casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, folio no. 4 recto.

Translation, Anonymous, dal Archivo di Chiesa di Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome, *Erezione della Casa di Sant' Andrea della Valle*, folio no. 4 recto.

"The church of Sant' Andrea della Valle, where on the 3rd of July 1623, on the occasion of the death of the most Reverend Cardinal Monsignor Montralto, the cupola was completed and the work covering it with lead begun. Inside, the painter Domenichino, has begun to paint the choir.

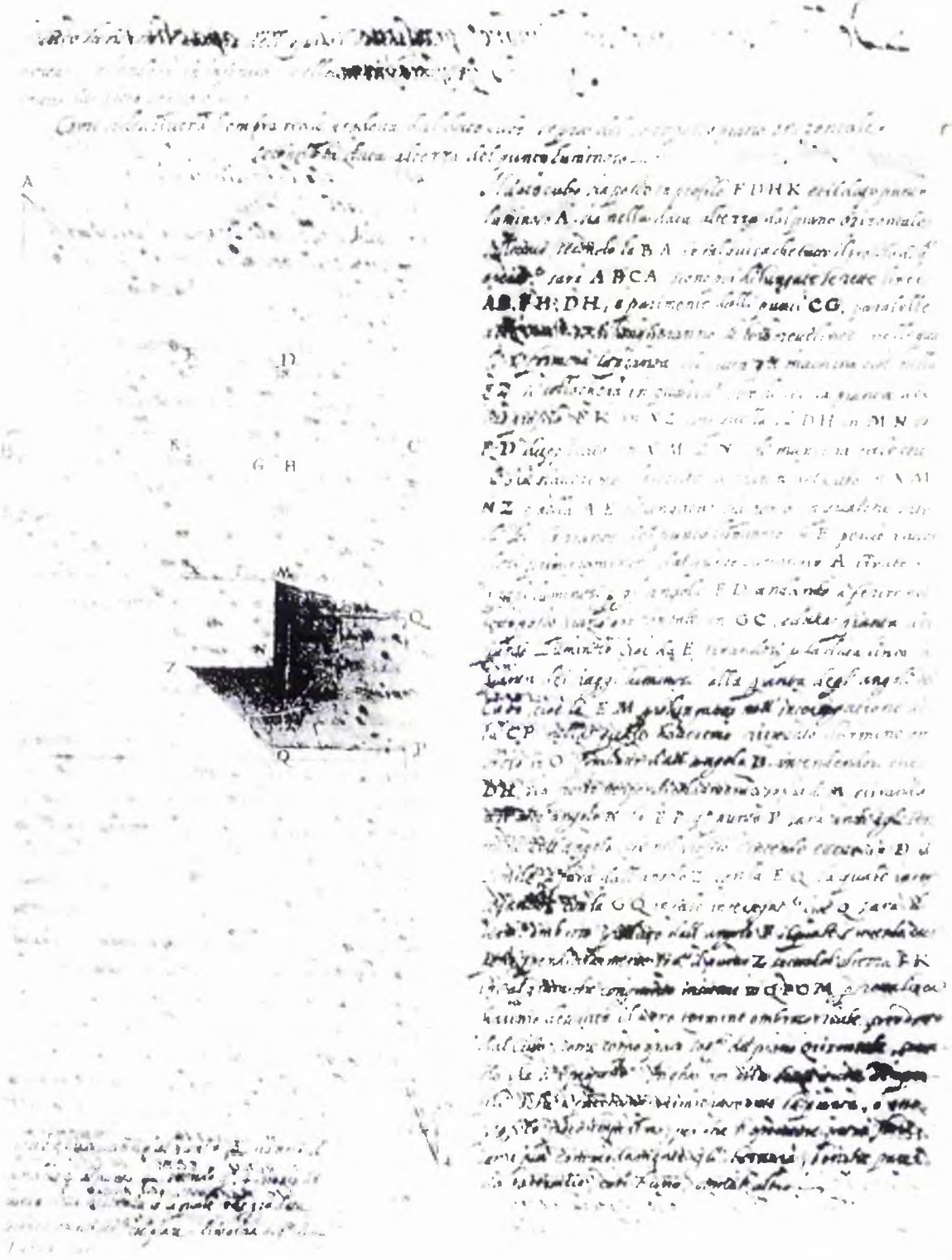
After this will follow the positioning of the seating of the bronze cross on top of the cupola following the completion of the covering of the cupola with all of the lead supplied and the completion of the brickwork for the cornice of the said cupola.

Finished: all the windows of the cupola of the church and the little sacristy; all the paintings for the cupola, with all the stucco-work for the choir and also the gilding from the top of the cupola as far as the cornice of the church.

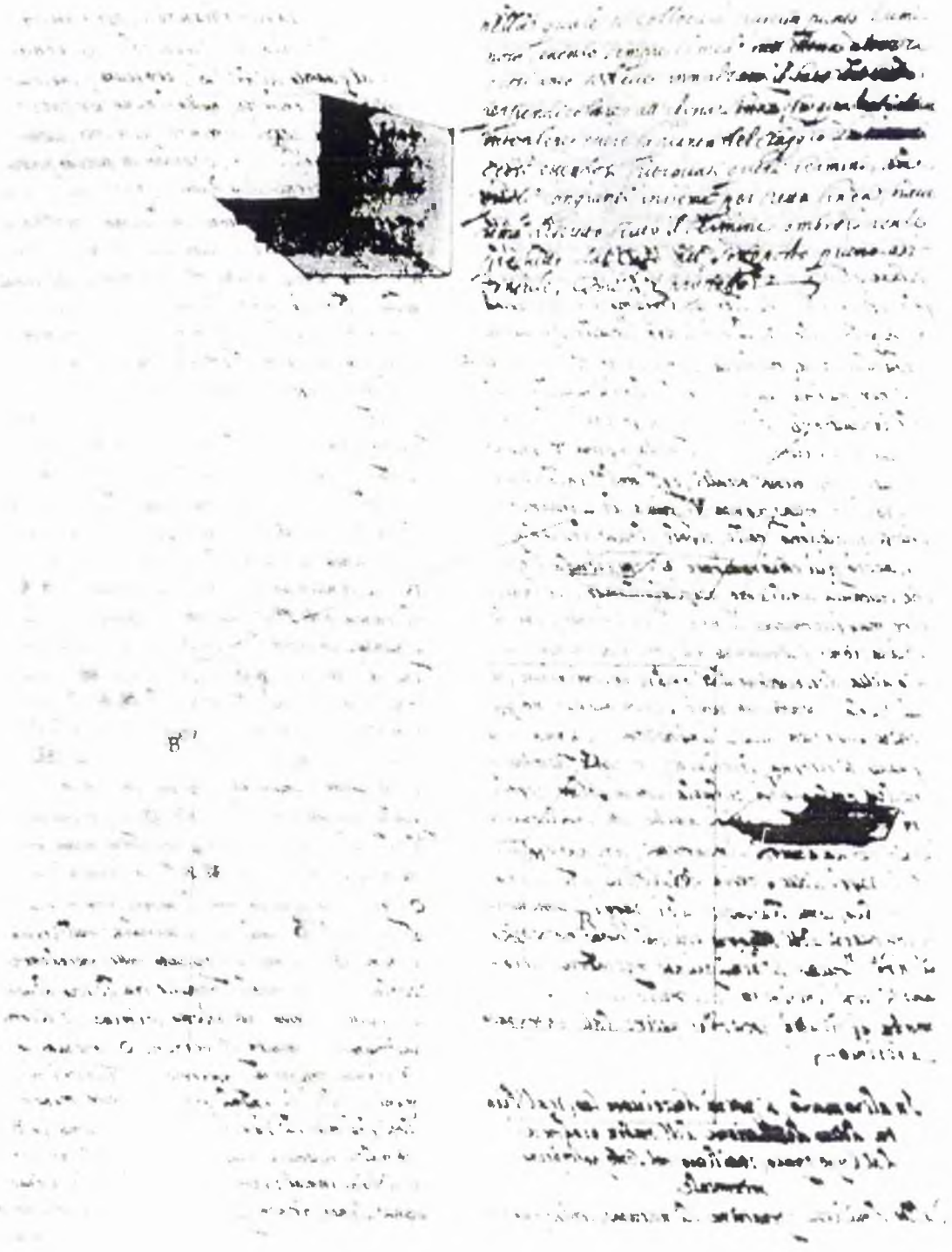
Stuccoed: all the cornice of the old and of the new church, and all of the pilasters stuccoed from top to bottom.

Finished: all the brick-paving of the facade, the material for which being from Tavola, and, most recently, the four arms of the cupola to the four corners; the main entrance of the church, with the marble entrances of the choir and the church, and the entrance doors.

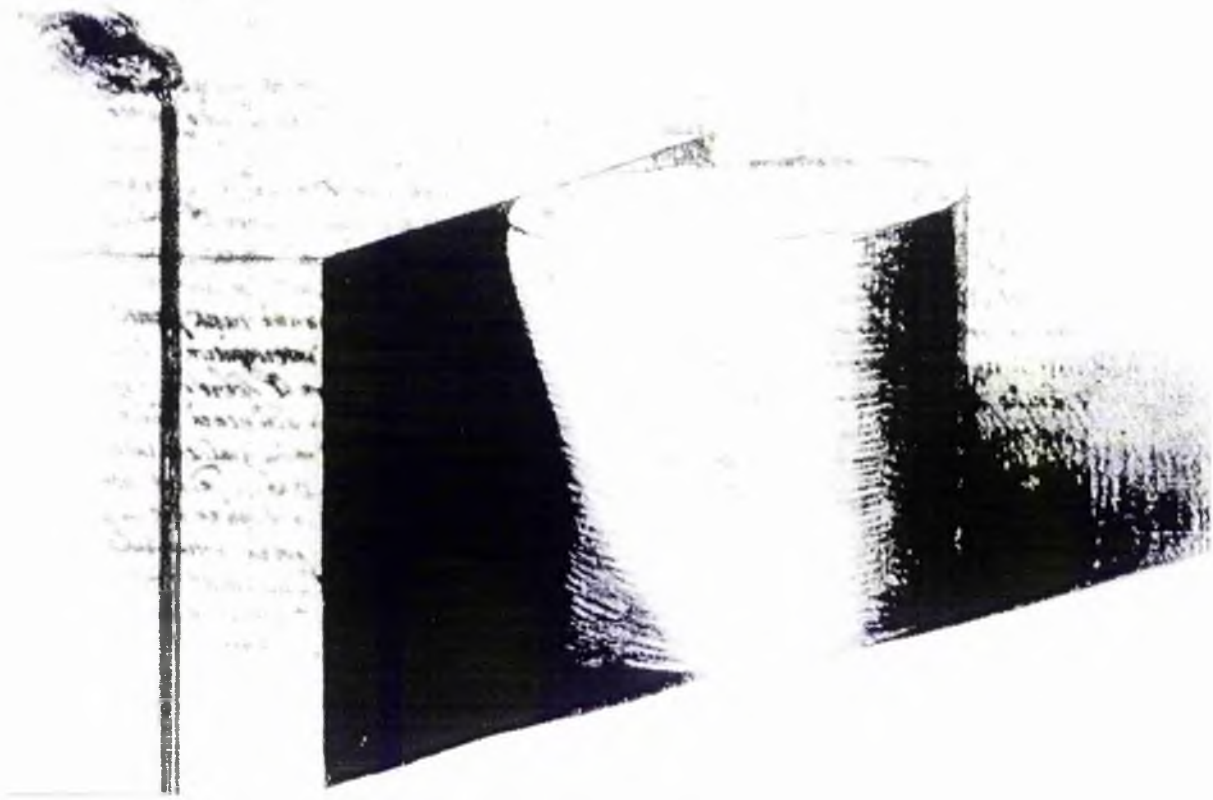
Finished: the choir and the high altar in the latest fashion seen today; finished the columns of the facade, which were brought from the port of Monte Ritondo. The small and large sacristies, with the greater part of the campanile, are done; they are all stuccoed, the windows and the entrances of Travertine marble are done, and the entrances and all the iron work and other ornamentation."



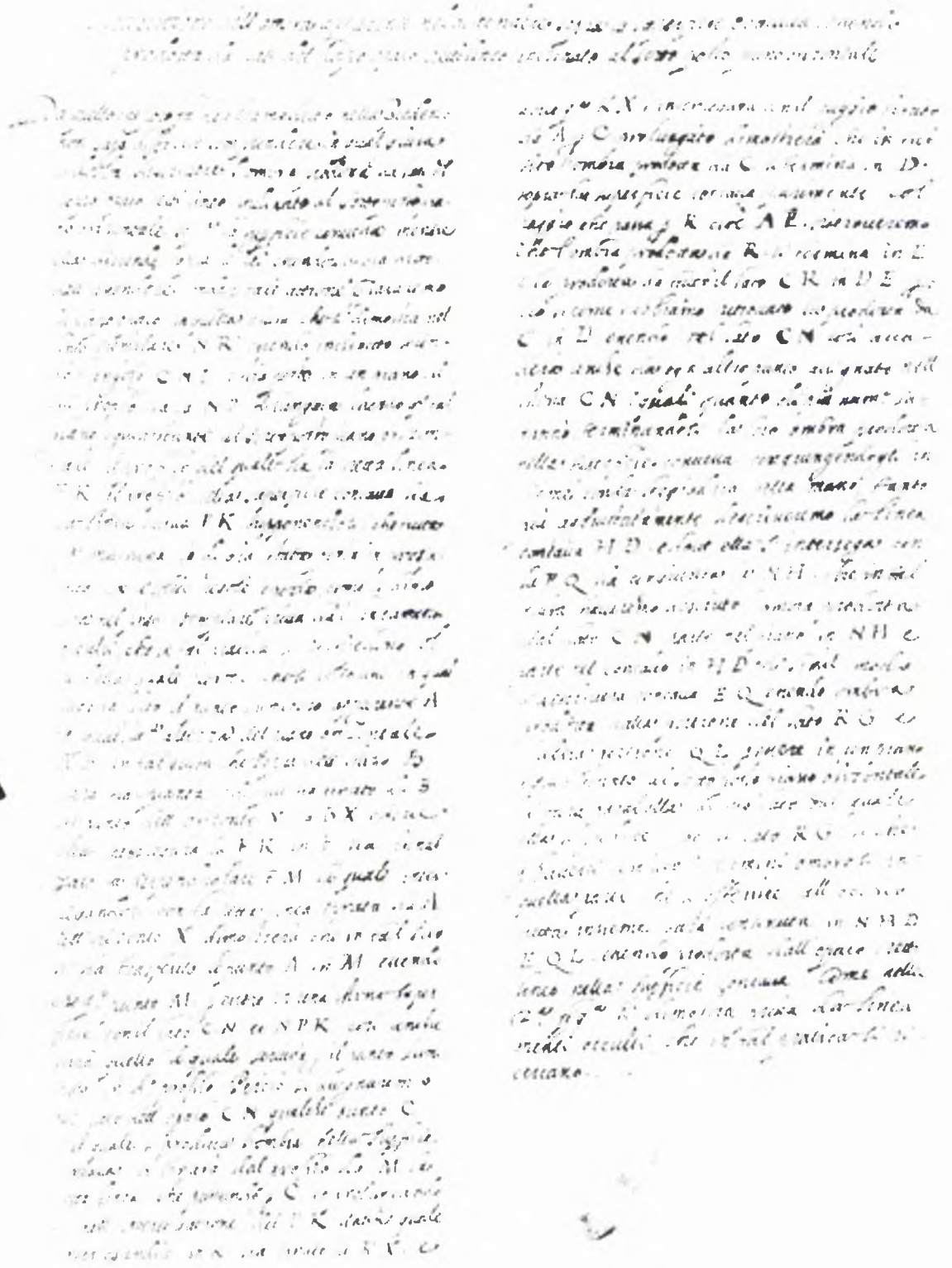
7a Matteo Zaccolini, *Della descrittione del ombre prodotte da corpi opachi rettilini*, folio no. 3 verso, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana, Florence, Ashb. 1212, vol. 4.



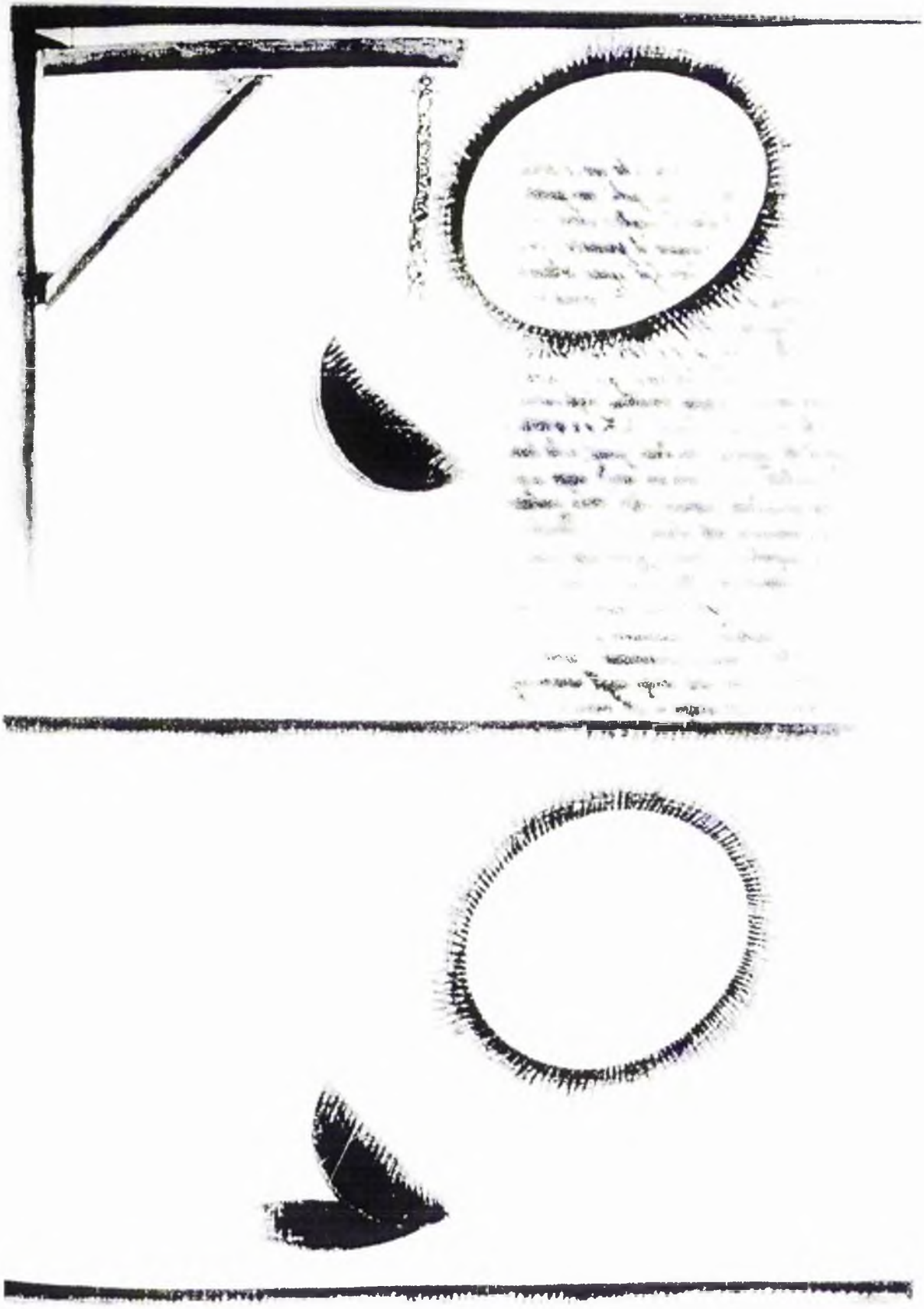
7b Matteo Zaccolini, *Della descrittione del ombre prodotte da corpi opachi rettilini*, folio no. 9 verso.



7c Matteo Zaccolini, *Della descrittione del ombre prodotte da corpi opachi rettilini*, folio no. 47 recto.



7d Matteo Zaccolini, *Della descrittione del ombre prodotte da corpi opachi rettilini*, folio no. 47 verso.



7e Matteo Zaccolini, *Della descrittione del ombre prodotte da corpi opachi rettilini*, folio no. 65 recto.

7f Matteo Zaccolini, *Della descrittione del ombre prodotte da corpi opachi rettilini*, folio no. 80 recto.